The Middle East Crisis

Its Past, Present and Future

A Critical examination of the causes of Arab defeat and its Consequences

By

GHULAM MUHAMMAD

CHIRAGH-E-RAH PUBLICATIONS
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DEDICATED

To the living memory of martyre

SYED QUTB

Whose **Shahadah** is a **symbol** of the conflict between **Haqq** (Right) and **Batil** (Wrong) going on in the Muslim World, and is a **key** to the understanding of the real causes which have produced a contemporary crisis of the Middle East.

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INTRODUCTION

The Middle East Crisis is an issue which is agitating the minds of all thinking persons. There can be many angles to the study of the problem. Western analysts are looking upon it from a particular viewpoint. The Israel lobby is playing its game in a very clever way. The Communist bloc is out to sell its own approach and make political capital out of the situation, without giving any substantial help to the victims. In the face of all this the unsophisticated student of the Middle Eastern affairs stands baffled and aghast. There has been no worthwhile attempt to look upon the entire problem from the Muslim angle—and to look upon it in its real historico-political perspective. The Arab world seems to be too confused to come to grips with the searching questions of the day. Others also look askance. It has been very pressingly felt that someone should venture to analyse the situation from the Muslim viewpoint and to throw light on the causes of the present tragedy. In view of this dire need the **Islamic**

Research Academy initiated a study of the problem and requested Chaudhry Ghulam Mohammad to write a brochure on the past, present and future of the Middle East Crisis. He has been assisted in this project by Mr. Misbahul Islam Faruqi and Mr. Mumtaz Ahmad.

Chaudhry Ghulam Mohammad is one of those few Pakistanis who have a first hand knowledge of the affairs of the Middle East. He has made about a dozen visits to the area during the last twelve years, has studied the developments from academic as well as practical angles and has been in touch with many politicians, statesmen, social thinkers, journalists and religious scholars of the area. He has participated in most of the International Islamic Conferences held during the last decade. He was also a member of the unofficial delegation of the leaders of the Muslim world, led by Dr. Muhammad Natsir, former Prime Minister of Indonesia, which called upon the Governments and the leaders of the Muslim world after the June 1967 war. As such he has a firm grasp over the problems of the Middle East and has analysed the situation in a straight-forward way. Mr. Faruqi is also a keen student of the Middle East and has assisted the learned writer in finalising the script

and in preparing and editing its English version. We hope this book will throw significant light on many dark corners of the problem and will help the student in understanding the real issues in their proper perspective. The writer has been honest and critical in his approach—but this criticism comes from a soul in distress, from one who feels the pains of the tragedy in the deepest recesses of his heart and who undertakes this self-criticism only to ameliorate the situation. The idea is not to pull down anyone, but to clearly analyse the issues and invite the Muslims and particularly the Arabs, who constitute an important part of the great Islamic community, to reflect over the catastrophe and search for its real causes. It is only through sincere reflection, honest criticism and candid appraisal that the situation can be understood and plans for regaining the lost ground can be made. This book is being presented to serve the same purpose—to ignite a new resolve to live like Muslims and to remake our destiny in the light of our own history and culture.

Khurshid Ahmad.

Karachi:

PART ONE

Why Arabs Lost The War?

When in May 1967, Gamal Abdel Nasser made a dramatic announcement for the blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba, asked the UN Secretary-General U. Thant to clear the Ghaza and Sinai borders of the UN troops, and the manner in which the different nations of the world, especially the Muslim countries, supported the courageous step of Mr. Nasser and assured all-out aid, and finally Russia sent its naval fleet in the Mediternean Sea close to the American fleet, it could justificably be hoped that Egypt will settle the score of 1956 defeat. Many believed that in case of war Israel would be a heavy loser. The common Arab believed that after a long waiting for 20 years, time perhaps had come to get rid of Israel once for all.

Again, while addressing the leaders of the Pan-Arab Federation of Trade Unions on May 26, 1967, Mr. Nasser announced that if there was any armed conflict, it would be a total war and their aim would be complete annihilation of Israel. He had expressed his firm belief in Arab victory as, be declared, they were fully equipped to have it out with Israel. "This is not 1956, when," he said, "the Arabs were confronted not against Israel, but against Britain and France.'[1]

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[1] The **Six Day War,** Churchill, Randolph S. 1 Wiston S. Heinemann, London, p. 47. It is noteworthy that Mr. Nasser had a double attitude towards Israel. Whenever he addressed the Western nations and its leaders, he simply demanded return of the Palestinian refugees to the Israeli-occupied areas, but while talking to the

(continued on page 4)

The Arabs had high expectations from their present rulers. Gone were the days, they thought, when in 1948 they were defeated by Israel simply because kings presided over their destiny. Their ardent nationalist leaders, they were daily told on radio, had made ample war preparations against Israel and they were equipped on a gigantic scale. They were also shown all sorts of highly destructive weapons off and on. They were also told continuously of the all-out support of the Socialist countries who were arming the Arab countries with all sorts of weapons. Their joy knew no bounds when they heard that Egypt itself had set up factories to manufacture Jet planes, rockets and missiles. Then the fact cannot be controverted that the armaments supplied by Russia to Egypt were much more than that was possessed by Israel. The Egyptian air force was supposed to be much superior to that of Israel in efficiency and performance. Similarly Egypt's naval strength was many times greater than that of Israel.

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Arabs, he always expressed his firm determination to root Israel out of existence. And Mr. Nasser exhibited this contradictory attitude on countless occasions. When towards the end of May, 67 Mr. Nasser gave an interview to Sir Anthony Nutting former Secretary for Defence, U.K. he declared: With the blockade of Gulf of Aqaba and the withdrawl of U.N. forces, our immediate objectives have been achieved, and the only problem that remains now is of Palestine refugees.

The Arabs were quite confident that this time, it was their leadership who had been prepairing and planning the strategy and tactics of war and they will be the first to strike. And there will no more be a repetition of 1956 joint surprise attack by Israel, France and Britain. All the factors were in the favour of Arabs; and the initiative was in their hands. Egypt had sent its fully equipped reserve army to the Sinai border immediately after the announcement of the blockade of.the Gulf of Aqaba and the withdrawl of the United Nations' troops. All the Arab States had laid aside their differences. King Hussein of Jordan, forgetting past bitterness, put himself at the disposal of the President of the United Arab Republic. He himself went over to Cairo to conculde a defence pact. He gave his entire armed force .under the command of the U.A.R. forces chief. Iraq also decided to join the war. In short, initiative was in the hands of the Arabs. Truly speaking, the stage of the war was set by the Arab nationalist leaders themselves.

In view of all these above-mentioned factors and circumstances the Arabs were perfectly satisfied, rather happy, over .war preparations made by their nationalist leaders and their faith in victory over Israel was not misplaced. Moreover, the Cairo Radio account of the bombing of Israeli airports strengthened their belief in the final victory. They were sure that Israel, if not totally annihilated, will be abjectly defeated and forced to make peace at the terms dictated by the Arabs.

That's why they contemptuously rejected as Western propaganda the news about the rout of Arab forces that started trickling down to them on the next day. But the actual position did not take long to be clear to them and on the third day Jordanian troops had laid down their arms. Two days after this Egypt also accepted defeat and welcomed the ceasefire resolution passed by the U.N. Security Council.

But this rout of the combined might of the Arabs by the tiny state of Israel and in only three days at that was a riddle for the entire Muslim world, and particularly the Arabs.

Shortly after the war, I had an opportunity to make an extensive tour of the Middle East.* I found not only the Arab masses but also the intelligentsia in a state of utter confusion and stupor. The questions writ large on their bewildered faces were: Why and how they were dragged into the war? Why at all they had to suffer this abject defeat? Were they deficient in man-power or armaments or what? They were also perplexed as to why they met with such fate while Pakistan —a sister Muslim country, only two years ago had repulsed the surprise attack of India, a

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*The writer was a member of the unofficial delegation led by Dr. Muhammad Natsir, former Prime Minister of Indonesia, which visited Iraq, Jordan, Turkey Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Kuwait in August September 1967 to study the situation and discuss it with the Muslim leaders.

country five times more powerful in military strength and resources, and which was heavily armed by Russia and the Soviet aid poured in even during the war on a substantial scale. And in that unequal encounter no country was able to come to the help of Pakistan. Then they were not ignorant of Viet Nam, becoming a graveyard of American prestige.

Avoiding the Issues

The truth is that the Arabs still seem to be ignorant of the real causes of the debacle. Right in the middle of the war, an attempt was continuously made to delude them into believing that they were not confronted with Israel alone but the American and British air forces were taking part in the war. There is no denying the fact that America and Britain did all they could to strengthen Israel, but they tactfully avoided direct participation in the Arab-Israeli war. And this baseless charge had been disproved and latter Nasser himself had to admit that his supposition was wrong.

Immediately after the debacle, President Nasser played another trick. He staged the drama of his resignation after owning full responsibility for the defeat. But this hasty resignation was withdrawn with equal haste at the so-called insistence of the thousands of villagers and labourers collected in Cairo through State machinery. Immediately afterwards there began

proceedings against some high army officers for their failure to win the war, and for treason and sabotage. These army officers were made scapegoat to convince the people that those arrested and not the top leadership was responsible for the catastrophe.

Then came a new line from Russia. Now Cairo and Damascus Radio and Press started hammering into the minds of the people the strange theory that it were the Western Powers and not the Arabs who were actually defeated in the war. It was so because the Imperialist Powers and Israel actually wanted to overthrow the revolutionary Socialist regimes in the Arab countries—and they had failed to achieve this purpose[2]. The nationalist leaders did not stop at this. They started philosophising that the basic cause of their debacle was that the Socialist system has not yet attained maturity in the Arab countries and there are bourgoes and anti-revolutionary officers still in the armies, who do not want the Socialist system to prosper. Therefore no step for the extermination of Israel can produce results unless the armies are purged of such anti-revolutionary elements.

Then these nationalist leaders tried to lay the blame at the door of the regimes of oil-producing

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[2] This fact is, however, extremely regrettable that the Arab nationalist leaders have suffered defeat not only in the battlefield but also on the moral plane. They are thoroughly demoralised and the United Arab Republic after formally owning its mistake has started attempts to resume relations with the U.S.A. Diplomatic relations with Britain have already been restored.

states. By all these attempts, these nationalist leaders wanted to save their own skin after convincing the Arab masses that they themselves were not responsible for this defeat. They want to rehabilitate their position and re-enforce their grip on the people by diverting their attention towards others. But this fact cannot be controverted that the present leadership was found more wanting and inefficient than their predecessors in 1948. The only difference was that in those days the Arab people could freely give vent to their feelings, criticise and even hold demonstrations[3] against the old regimes. The Press could freely expose the failings of the leadership and political and religious leaders could approach the people to explain their point of view. But now the Arab masses are treated like dumb-driven cattle. They are not allowed to listen to other leaders except their rulers. All such doors are closed for them. Not to speak of Radio and Television, the entire Press is also in the grip of the ruling Junta. Civil liberties and political parties are things of the past and even religious leaders are not allowed to utter a single word about the situation. In these circumstances the Arab people have no opportunity to ponder

[3] Now only state-managed demonstrations are allowed. Recently some demonstrations were held in Cairo against inadequate punishments given by the court to the army officers. The Interior Minister of U.A.R. Mr Juma, announced in the National Assembly that those demonstrators were allowed and supported by President Nasser himself.

and discuss the causes of their defeat and to proceed to make amends.

Outside of the Arab world, other Muslim countries too have not been able to fully assess the causes of this tragedy. Israel has polished away an area of thousands of square miles stretching from the western bank of the River Jordan to the Suez canal and by capturing Jerusalem has added yet another, rather the greatest, sore to so many tragic events in Muslim history. The crying need of the time is to make a cool and dispassionate appraisal of the causes that led to the Arab debacle and to work for the removal of those basic shortcomings to turn the defeat into victory.

There are many factors that contributed to the rout of the Arabs. It is not possible to pinpoint anyone of them as the sole factor. Among them are (1) the hostility of the Western nations towards Islam and its followers, the unending animosity and the desire to take revenge of their defeats in the Crusades, (2) the Jewish lust for grabbing lands, and the desire to fulfil the ancient dream of establishing an Israeli empire stretching from the Euphrates to the Nile and from Turkey to the Holy city of Madina, (3) Russian machinations to increase its influence in the Middle East and its dual attitude towards the Arabs. But these are external factors. In my opinion there are a number of internal factors too that contributed to the defeat of the Arabs thrice during the past 20 years. I propose to discuss these internal factors in the present discourse.

The Background

God was extremely kind to the Arabs when He bestowed on them the boon of Islam that raised their prestige to zenith and put them on the pedestal of world leadership. For centuries onwards they had been influencing the world thought and action and guiding the mankind in the domain of not only politics but sciences, arts and culture. By the grace of God they ruled over a vast territory from Spain in Europe to the Far East in Asia. But when they gave up obeying the injunctions of Islam, God took back leadership of the world from them and imposed upon them despots and tyrants from the Imperialist West. But the latest defeat in June war was most regrettable in the sense that the Arabs were punished by Jews—a nation which has been living under the wrath of God for centuries and which could never find a respectable place in the comity of nations. They were condemned to be driven like dromedary cattle from door to door. From this it can be surmised that perhaps the sins and transgressions committed by the Arabs are no longer fewer than those of the Jews. That is why God had the Arabs humbled by an eternally condemned nation like the Jews. This tragic episode of the history has a great lesson for all. But only those can be benefitted who have eyes and ears, who have conscience and a mind that is capable to reflect and ponder.

Let us now see how the Arabs reached this state of utter degradation.

The Curse of Nationalism

The Arabs were gifted by God with faith and were woven into a Millat through Islam. But they in their ignorance discarded that invaluable ideology in favour of an un-Islamic slogan of Arab nationalism and proceeded to make it the basis of their socio-political life. It were the Western powers which injected the virus of nationalism into the Arabs. Majority of the Arab students and leaders who went over to the West to benefit from their institutions brought back with them the germs of Western civilization and strengthened the feelings of nationalism in the intelligentsia. The Western nations, on the other hand, fully knew that they cannot split the Muslims without diverting them from the path of Islam and putting them on the road of nationalism. Then they initiated organised efforts to fan nationalistic prejudices among the Arabs, Turks, Iranians and other Muslim peoples. They used minorities, especially Jews and Christians living in those countries, to fan out and promote nationalism[4]. The Western

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[4] The Orientalists themselves say that the seeds of Arab Nationalism were sown by the Christian Arabs any they developed it into a cult. The notorious Christian Quarterly Journal, **The Muslim World,** Hartford, Conn., U.S.A. has discussed the matter number of times. In this connection an important article has appeared in the April 1967 issue captioned "Four Christian Arab Nationalists—A Comparative Study", by Spencer Laven in which it is shown how Christians have worked to inculcate the idea of Nationalism.

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imperialists encouraged Christian missionaries to establish educational institutions and hospitals which contributed a lot towards weaning away the coming generations of the Muslims from Islam and injecting the virus of nationalism. The Jews also played a great role in this nefarious mission through their international Freemason movement.

Just when the downfall of the Muslim society had set in the Renaissance had begun in Europe. In this new era, Europe started attempts to get rid of the papacy and the feudal system and founded the new order on three basic principles (i) Nationalism (ii) Secularism and (iii) Popular Democracy. These three principles formed the foundation of their new culture, their philosophy, politics, sociology, and the educational system grew from this basis. Religion was banished out of the society and allowed to function in the private life of an individual.

Europe, after overthrowing the feudal system and papacy started making rapid strides in every walk of worldly life and assumed leadership of the world in thought, and practical life and specially in politics. Muslim Millat started losing

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The article names the following personalities who have been in the vanguard to achieve this objective. They are Butrus al-Bustani a Lebenese Prysbyterian, Negib Azoury, Syrian Catholic; Edward Rabbath, Syrian Catholic; and Michel Aflaq, Syrian Greek Orthodox.

ground in every field of life and finally surrendered completely before the new dawning culture. But as was inevitable, the unfortunate aspect of this episode was that when they surrendered themselves physically they also gave themselves up intellectually and ideologically to their new masters. Most of the institutions of the Muslims seemed too lifeless to withstand the onrush of this new culture. Why it was like this? Not because the new oncoming culture had an ideology superior to that of Islam, but because the Muslims had stopped living according to the dictates of Islam. The real religious consciousness was now the thing of the past. Islamic educational and training institutions were either on their way out or were not equal to the task. Most of the Muslim countries were groaning under the heels of degenerated kings, who paid no heed to the popular advice and criticism and never felt the necessity of working for the welfare of the people.

But the new materialistic culture of the West entered the world arena with high-sounding Jargon and pompous slogans of liberty, fraternity, democracy, economic prosperity, and social justice and was bent upon totally changing the old pattern of life. The French Revolution gave a powerful content to this new culture and had a deep impact in every walk of life. The Muslims were overtaken by a sense of defeatism, inferiority complex and helplessness. Countries after countries started falling a prey to this western invasion and by the end of nineteenth century the

major portion of the Muslim lands had passed under the political domination or influence of the West. The ruling nations set up in Muslim countries educational institutions based on the principles of their own way of life. Where political hold was not possible, Christian missionaries did the job on their behalf by founding educational institutions on seemingly humanitarian basis but in reality to wean away the new generations of Muslims from the path of Islam. The educational system of these Christian missionary institutions was not different from the system introduced by the western rulers. As the present essay deals exclusively with the conditions in the Middle-East, I will confine my discussion to this region only.

The Middle East, stretching from Iraq to Libya was part of Ottoman Turkish caliphate. The Christian missionaries started their work in this area in right earnest and established schools and colleges in Cairo, Beirut, Damascus, Istanbul and several other places. They also founded several research academies that were instrumental in spreading Western civilization. The Western nations had realised fully well that it was impossible to break Muslim unity and destroy their strength without destroying their feeling of being one brotherhood and one community (Millat). Hence they directed their efforts towards whipping up linguistic and racial prejudices in the Muslims. It was systematically hammered into the minds of the students that they were Arabs and Turks first and any thing else latter. They were taught

to take pride in Pan-Arabism and Pan-Turanism and that is how the monolithic Muslim community was torn into different nationalities of Arabs, Turks, Kurds, etc.

The Arabs had some very genuine grievances against their Turkish rulers. These institutions started organising nationalistic movements on the basis of these grievances. A time came when the two nationalities were arrayed against each other. The majority of those educated in these missionary institutions and who went over to Europe for higher studies returned as "every inch a European". They were so transformed that they started thinking and behaving like their European masters. Most of them returned convinced that religion is a great handicap rather a hinderance in the way of their material progress. They repeated parrot like that religion is a private affair directly between man and God and should not interfere in the social life of man and political, economic and cultural issues must be tackled from nationalistic point of view. Nationalism, in fact, gave a new lease of life to the Christian and Jewish minorities in the Muslim countries. Through the instrument of this feeling of nationalism they thought they could not only split the Muslim world into tiny bits, but also preside over the destiny of a large section of Muslim community. With this end in view these non-Muslim institutions started organising nationalist movements in right earnest. Jews and Christians were in fact the sponsors of nationalist

movement both among the Arabs and Turks. George Antonius, author of **The Arab Awakening,** very ably throws light on the launching of their movement among the Arabs. He writes:

> "The first organised effort in the Arab national movement can be traced back to the year 1875—two years before Abdul Hameed's accession—when five young men, who had been educated at the Syrian Protestant College[5] at Beirut formed a secret society. They were all Christians, but they saw the importance of getting Moslems and Druzes to join, and managed after sometime to enlist the membership of some twenty two persons belonging to different creeds and representing the enlightened elite of the country.'[6]

Then the author proceeds to describe how the Jewish conspirational movement called Freemasonry provided strength to this nefarious scheme.

> "Freemasonry on the European pattern had just found its way into Syria and the promotors of the secret society were able, through one of its members, to interest the recently founded Lodge in its activities".[7]

The same author makes the revelation that among the persons who initiated the Arab

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[5] This college later on became the famous American University of Beirut, which celebrated its centenary last year.

[6] Antonius, George, **The Arab Awakening,** Capricorn Books, N.Y. 1965, p. 79.

[7] Antonius, George, **op. cit.,** p. 79.

nationalist movement, two were most outstanding. They were Nasif' Yazeji and Butrus Bustani and both of them were the Lebanese Christians. Bustani started a political-cum literary bi-monthly in 1870 and gave the slogan: "Patriotism is an article of faith". The author admits that this slogan and its "sentiment was hitherto unknown in the Arab world". These Arab Christians established educational and research institutions in coordination with foreign Christian missionaries. The aim of these institutions was to found and promote nationalist movement. He writes:

> "In the early days of their association with the American mission, Yazeji and Bustani had come forward with a proposal for foundation of a learned society. In all probability they had felt that side by side with spread of education in the schools and the birth of a new interest in the science, some effort ought to be made to promote knowledge among adults by bringing them in touch with western culture. The project matured in January 1847, when a Society came into being in Beirut, and under the name of the 'Society of Arts and Science', Yazeji and Bustani were both members, as were Eli Smith, Cornelius, Van Dyke and several other Americans."
>
> "Other societies were formed after its pattern, which were to play an important part in the growth of the Arab national movement. It was, in fact, in one of those early societies, the direct descendant of that, which had been founded at the instigation of Yazeji and Bustani, **that the first cry of the infant movement was uttered.'**[8]

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[8] **Ibid.**, pp. 45, 46, 48 and 50.

The Muslims viewed all these activities with suspicion and did not come forward to cooperate with these persons. Therefore another attempt was made and in 1857 the "Syrian Scientific Society" was formed. Its membership reached upto 150. This time, the sponsors of this new society succeeded in enlisting cooperation and assistance of some important Arab Muslim personalities. Prominent among them were Ameer Shakeib Arsalan and Hussain Baheim. The former one had been president of this society for quite a long time. About this society the author writes:

> "The foundation of the Society was the first outward manifestation of a collective national consciousness, and its importance in history is that it was the cradle of a new political movement."[9]

Thus under the label of research and learning did the Christian missionaries and Western imperialist nations conspire to launch a political movement which ultimately assumed monstrous proportions. The author writes:

> "So it came to pass that the ideas which had originally been sown by the Christians were now—roughly at the turn of the century—finding an increasingly receptive soil among the Muslims."[10]

Now the ideological leadership was in the hands of Arab intellectuals and litterateur and

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[9] Ibid., p. 54.

[10] Ibid., p. 95.

they launched their mission of rousing the sentiments of the Arabs to prepare them for a revolt against the Turks. Most prominent among these persons was Ibrahim Yazeji, son of Nasif Yazeji. This Society started its underground activities to incite the Arabs against their Turkish rulers. On the other side, the same elements found an organisation in Turkey by the name of "The Committee of Unity and Progress" and started work to create a feeling of Toorani nationalism among the Turks and also to prepare the ground far a secular system of life in that country. The author also throws light on this: "Committee for Union and Progress":

> "The C.U.P., were a medley of races and creeds, in which Turks predominated and Jews came second, with Ottoman nationals of other races in tow, and political refugees and exiles abroad in the background."[11]

In this manner did the local Christian and Jewish elements, conspiring with foreign missionaries and Western imperialist powers, set afloat during the last century, nationalist movements to break Muslim unity and make them easy morsels. By now they had created in every Muslim country, a group that thought and acted as the westerners did, worshipped the Western civilization and danced to the tune of the Western imperialists. Such elements among the Muslims were no longer a danger for these

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[11] Ibid., p. 101

imperialist powers. On the contrary, the Western powers, knowing fully well that direct rule in these Muslim countries was not possible for long, wanted to leave the power in the hands of such westernised elements to perpetuate their hold indirectly. Lord Cromer in his book, **Modern Egypt**, written in 1908, says:

> **"England was prepared to grant political freedom to all her colonial possessions as soon as possible as a generation of intellectuals and politicians imbued through English education with the ideals of English culture were ready to take over, but under no circumstances would the British Government for a single moment tolerate an independent Islamic State."**

Thus Lord Cromer declared openly his hostility towards Islam and stated clearly what type of generation they wanted to produce in Muslim countries.

Now, on the one side, extremist nationalist movements were prospering in the Middle East, on the other side, the Zionists started their machinations to secure ascendency on the international plane. A detailed account of their conspiratorial mind and their political thought and philosophy can be looked into their secret document **Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion.**[12].

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[12] This document is reproduced. in full in the **Jewish Conspiracy and the Muslim World, Karachi, 1967.**

Theodore Herzl started Zionist movement at the end of the nineteenth century and the first international Jewish conference was held at Basle in 1897 under his presidentship. This Congress arrogantly called itself "the Jewish nation". They created a world-wide political machine. Its purpose were as folows:

> "Zionism strives to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law. The congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end.
>
> "(1) The promotion on suitable lines of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers.
>
> "(2) The organization and binding together of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country.
>
> "(3) The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and consciousness.
>
> "(4) Preparatory steps towards obtaining government consent where necessary to the attainment of the aim of Zionism.
>
> "With the world Zionist organization an actuality Theodor Herzl charged the 197 delegates to 'Capture the Jewish communities of the world'."[13]

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[13] Jack B. Tenney, **World Zionism**, Los Angeles 1955 p. 8.

The Britishers offered to the Jews an area in Uganda, East Africa, for resettlement. But the leaders of the Zionist movement, rejected the offer and decided to work for the capture of Palestine for founding the State of Israel. Thenceforth they started making plans with this end in view. In 1902 a Zionist delegation under the leadership of Herzl waited on Sultan Abdul Hamid the Second of Turkey and requested for permission to resettle the Jews in Palestine. In return for this concession, the Zionists threw a bait before the Sultan to pay off Turkey's foreign loans. But the Sultan rejected this Jewish offer with the contempt that it deserved despite the fact that in those days Turkey was beset with internal financial difficulties and was groaning under foreign loans.

According to **"The Diaries of Theodore Herzl"**, the Sultan exclaimed:

> **"Inform Dr. Herzl to give up henceforth all further attempt in connection with the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Should the Ottoman Empire be dismembered only then the Jews can have Palestine."**[14]

Disappointed after this reply from the Turkish Sultan the Zionists started their hated machinations to dismember the Turkish caliphate. The "Committee for Union and Progress" was in fact brought into existence with this sordid end in view. This movement is known by the name of

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[14] **The Diaries of Theodor Herzl,** Tel Eviv, 1943.

"Young Turks" also. Only three out of the 24 prominent members of this organisation were above forty. The rest were quite young and so became an easy tool in the hands of the Jews directly or through the Freemason movement to promote their designs. The presence and role of the Jews in the Committee for Union and Progress has been mentioned earlier, but what about the role and contribution of the Freemason movement. George Hadad in his book, **Revolution and Military Rule in the Middle East**, writes:

> "The Revolution (July 1908) against Abdul Hamid's regime was thus inspired and prepared by the Ottoman liberals including officials and intellectuals at home and abroad. It was carried out, however, by the officers of the garrisons of Macedonia. . . .The Sultan's Government also committed the mistake of sending many suspected officers to serve in Macedonia, so that it turned out that the connection of so many disgruntled liberals in the same distant region **made it easier for them to conspire and to enter into contact with Freemasons**."[15]

According to George Antonius, this revolt against Sultan Abdul Hameed was due to the efforts of the "Committee for Union and Progress". The Sultan had sent the Zionist deputation back disappointed in 1902, and these very Jews succeeded within six years only in staging a revolt against him. Earlier, in 1878, the Freemasons had made an

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[15] George Hadad, **Revolutions and Military Rule in the Middle East** University of California Rs. Publishers Inc., N.Y. 1965, p. 52.

attempt to bring back Sultan Murad to the throne. "Shortly afterwards, a Greek resident in Istanbul and a Master of a Masonic Lodge, called CLEANTHES SCALIERI, conspired with some high Turkish officials to restore Murad."[16] Why were they keen to restore Sultan Murad? Bernard Lewis, himself a Jew, writes:

> "......because of his past connections with Freemasons and it was through Masonic channels that the conspirators directed some of their efforts."[17]

Then Lewis proceeds to disclose as to what extent do these Freemason, use their influences:

> "Scalieri and his Masonic friends did not leave the matter at that. From a report submitted to Sultan Abdul Hamid it seems that an attempt was made to persuade the German and English Lodges the heads of which were the Emperor Wilhelm and the Prince of Wales, to use their influence and secure the intervention of the German and British Ambassadors in Istanbul in favour of Murad."[18]

Thus the Freemasons were the moving spirit behind the Committee for Union and Progress and the Young Turks were merely the tools in their hands.

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[16] **Ibid.**, p. 48.

[17] Lewis, B., **The Emergence of Modern Turkey, Oxford,** 1965.

[18] **Ibid.,**

Lord Kinross in his book: **Ataturk—The Rebirth of a Nation,** writes:

> "The Committee of Union and Progress made free use of both the premises and the technique of the Freemasons."[19]

In 1908 when the Young Turks of the Committee for Union and Progress came to power after a successful revolt against Sultan Abdul Hamid, they appointed Hussein Shareef of Mecca despite the Sultan's tough opposition.[20] This is same Shareef of Mecca who conspired with the Britishers as soon as the World War began in 1914 and revolted against the Turks. Placed together these events lead one to the irresistible conclusion: **that the Western Imperialist Powers and the Zionists, on the one hand, helped the Young Turks in coming to power to be instrumental in promoting Toorani nationalism, and create hatred against the Arabs, and on the other hand, these powers, through those "Young Turks", managed to hand over the territory of Hedjaz to such a person, who very conveniently became a tool in the** hands of the western powers. It is not unlikely that this plan, that came in light after 1916, might have been chalked out before the departure of Hussein from Istanbul. The existence of this plan is proved by Prince Abdullah's talks with Lord Kitchener in February 1916 in which

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[19] Kinross, Lord, **Ataturk—The Rebirth of a Nation,** London, 1965, p. 28.

[20] Antonius, George, op. cit. p, 103.

Sir Ranold Storrs, Oriental Secretary, British Agency, Cairo, was also present (Prince Abdullah was later on made king of Transjordan. He was the grand father of the present ruler, King Hussein). Prince Abdullah told Lord Kitchener that the Arab-Turkish relations were very strained and the fall of his father, Hussain would cause a revolt in Hedjaz. In fact the Prince wanted to have an idea about the attitude of Britain in such a situation. This Conference paved the way for further negotiations between Shareef Hussein and Britain. In 1915 Hussein started regular correspondence with Sir Henry MacMohan and sought financial and arms aid from them against the Turks. This correspondence started in July 1915, and everything was settled by 30th January, 1916[21].

Immediately after coming to power, the Young Turks began propagating secularism and Toorani nationalism. In this way by the beginning of the 20th century, the Christian missionaries, the Freemasons, the local Christians, and the Jewish minorities, in Turkey and the Arab lands, conspired to whip up nationalist prejudices into strong antagonistic movements and pitched the Arab Muslims against Turkish Muslims.

Even after the split, the Christian missionaries, the research academies and the Freemasons

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[21] **Ibid., pp. 126 and 414.**

continued their mission of the westernisation of the young Arabs and Turks and alienating them away from Islam. A stage reached when the leadership in all these countries passed into the hands of the persons having deep faith in westernised secularism and nationalism. But this weak-kneed leadership had in fact been a puppet in the hands of the western imperialist powers and the international Zionist institutions through the Christian missionaries and the Freemasons.

When in the first world war, the Turks decided to fight by the side of the Germans, the Western Powers and Russia, leaving aside all their differences, joined hands and decided to dismember the Ottoman Caliphate. It may be pointed out, that it was the Ottoman Caliphate which had so far been frustrating all expansionist designs of the Russian imperialism and that is why Russia could not increase its hold in Asia and Africa inspite of her utmost efforts. For centuries, Russia had been trying to capture Dardanelles and Bosphorous with a view to securing the right of free navigation in the Mediterranean to satisfy its lust for expansionism.

By the end of nineteenth century, Crimean war had broken out between Russia and Turkey. Russia had failed to achieve her aim because Britain and France had sided with Turkey. This war provided Russia with an opportunity to realise its old dream. It may, however, be interesting to recall here that the Jews were controlling the

administration even in Russia.[22] The Communist parties in Russia and Eastern Europe were also dominated by the Zionists.[23] Most of the workers, who were sent to work in the Middle East for spreading the march of Communism were also. Jews. Turkey had become the hotbed of Jewish conspiracies and they had a very firm grip on the British and French regimes.

Just in the midst of the first world war, Britain concluded three pacts at the same time:

1. An agreement was signed with the Arabs that an independent Arab State will be formed in the territories "liberated" from the Turks.

2. Jews were given assurance that they would be given help in making a homeland for them in Palestine.

3. The Anglo-Franco-Russian Agreement, generally known as the SYKES-PICOT Agreement. This agreement was an arrangement by these three Imperialist Powers to create their own

[22] Faruqi, M. I., **Jewish Conspiracy and the Muslim World**, (P.O. Box: 2189) Karachi, 1967.

[23] Laqueur, Walter **Z., The Soviet Union and the Middle East,** Routlodge and Gegan Jaul, London, 1959, pp. 83 and 85. The author also mentions that till 1958, Jews held key posts in the Communist Party of Egypt. p. 355.

spheres of influence in the Middle East. (But after the Bolshevik Revolution, Russia was beset with her own internal problems and so was unable to benefit from this accord. According to this agreement, Russia's hold on Dardanelles and Bosphourus was to be recognised.)

These big Powers, it may be recalled, had promised the Arabs to form an independent Arab State in the territory that was to be "liberated" from the Turkish hold. But after the World War was over, the Imperialist Powers went back on their promise and distributed the Arab area among themselves in the following manner:

(i) Lebanon and Syria were given under the control of France.

(ii) Prince Faisal, son of Hussain Shareef of Mecca, was made King of Iraq.

(iii) A small state by the name of Trans-jordan was carved out at the Eastern bank of River Jordan and Prince Abdullah, the second son of Hussein, was made King of this State. Hussein himself was recognised King of Hedjaz.

(iv) Palestine was earmarked by Britain with a view of helping the Jews to make it their homeland.

In this way the Arab nationalists after throwing away the Turkish power put the Anglo-French halter round their necks and eventually opened the door for the Jews from all over the world to settle in Palestine. And all this could be possible after the Ottoman Caliphate was made quite helpless through internal and external machinations and conspiracies.

The most indefensible aspect of this whole tragic episode was that Arab nationalists had come to know of the British treachery quite in time. But they were so dead drunk with the wine of nationalism and very so much under the influence of the Christian missionaries and the local Jews, that they still allowed themselves to play in the hands of the British imperialists and so were helpful in preparing ground for the world Jews to resettle in Palestine. George Antonius, has published the text of the treaty about the Jews in Palestine[24] that was signed in London in January 1919 by Prince Feisal, son of Hussein (who was later made King of Iraq) and Dr. Chaim Wiezmann, the notorious leader of the world Zionists. This text of the treaty exposes the role of the Arab nationalists in paving the way for the influx of the Jews in Palestine that culminated in the establishment of the State of Israel.

As Britain and France were now in full political control over the dismembered Arab areas, campaign for Westernisation gained all the more

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[24] Antonian, George, op. cit. p. 437.

momentum. It also provided strength to those Christian Missionary institutions that were working for the last seventy five years for the dissemination of the germs of nationalism among the Arabs to wean them away from the path of Islam. All evils common to the Western culture pushed their way in the Arab society and a large section of the people was swept away in the stream. As the intelligentsia had already been made skeptic about the wisdom of the Islamic teachings, morality and character was on the wane and they became an easy prey to the enemy. In these conditions, the Freemasons and other such institutions had a free hand in continuing with their dangerous conspiracies and preparing men suitable for their purpose.[25] These movements in league with the

[25] Many officers of the Egyptian Army have been members of the Freemason movement. In 1954, Allama Amjad Zahawi, Head of the Jamiatul Ulema of Iraq, telegraphically requested President Nasser of Egypt to cease his membership of Freemasonry.

When in 1956, Abdul Karim Qasim seized power he closed down all the Freemason Lodges in Iraq. Scrutiny of the records seized from these lodge revealed that high-ranking military officers and many important political leaders were the members of the Freemason movement. I had an opportunity to visit one such lodge which is now occupied by Shia'h Ulema, and where they have established an educational institution, I saw the names of the Masters and other office bearers of the Lodge written on the notice boards. I also saw some photograph and pictures and went through some documents. I was particularly shocked to find the name of an eminent statesman like Fadhil Jamali on one of the boards.

Western imperialist powers created elements in the armed forces that could be made instrumental in furtherance of their ultimate designs.

The British, as promised, allowed the Jewish influx into Palestine. Between the years 1919 and 1948, the Jews multiplied from three per cent to thirty three per cent of the total population. All the fertile lands passed into their hands. Mills and factories started springing up. Several high educational institutions were set up, prominent among them being Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Technical Institute at Haifah. These institutions started producing leaders and administrators and technical experts for the state which the Jews were to found later. The whole Jewish nation was now imbued with religious fervour and armed to the teeth. When in May 1948, the British Mandate expired , the Zionist announced the establishment of the state of Israel on a part of Palestine. This was too much for the neighbouring Arab States to swallow. They declared war. The Egyptian army attacked from one side, the Iraqi and Syrian armies from another, and the Jordanian troops from the third side. But the Jews not only repulsed their combined attack, but also captured much more territory then was actually given to them by world powers. The Arabs could retain some portion of Palestine lying on the Western bank of the River Jordan and Ghaza. The Palestinian volunteers and the Egyptian and Syrian Ikhwan also fought courageously in this war. And in fact it was the

daring and sacrifices of these crusadors that stopped the Jews from capturing the whole of Palestine.

Fighting the Islamic Revivalist Forces

There was a very strong reaction among the Arabs against this defeat and the establishment of the Jewish State. It sent a wave of indignation across the people from one end to the other not only against the Western imperialist Powers but also against their erstwhile rulers. The volunteers of the Muslim Brotherhood exhibited unrivalled courage and high order of devotion during the war. Hence the people started flocking towards this purely Islamic movement. This popular trend was in fact a severe blow to the movement of Arab nationalism. The common Arab also started hating the Western civilisation and culture along with the European imperialist powers. The Ikhwan al-Muslimoon filled the vaccum and millions of youngmen, imbued with the fervour of Jehad, joined the ranks of this Islamic organisation. Israel and her Western patrons were not slow to realise this new emerging danger. They could clearly see in this fast growing movement all the efforts of the centuries going to dogs. They realized that if Islam was revived in this land with its full pristine glory, it would wipe out all the traces of western civilisation. Hence the British government pressed King Farouk to crush the movement of Muslim Brotherhood.

The King, in obedience to the order of his foreign masters, struck hard at the Movement. The organisation was declared illegal and thousands of Ikhwan were put into jails..Their Supreme Guide, Sheikh Hasan al Banna, was martyred in a busy thoroughfare in broad day light. How highly popular this movement was can be estimated from the fact that in 1948 it had half a million members in Egypt alone.

The popular sentiments against the rulers grew more and more intense as a result of the establishment of Israel and the Arab defeat, but there was no other movement or personality to fill the vacuum created after the removal of the Ikhwan al-Muslimoon from the political scene. This was the period when on an international plane, Russian and American cold war had been turned into a showdown in Korea. America was organising a chain of military pacts with the countries around Russia. Russia on the other side was doing its utmost to extend the sphere of its influence. For this purpose the Communists were working underground in Arab countries. They had now a golden opportunity to work up popular sentiments against the Western imperialist powers. These Communist elements, parading themselves as nationalists, started creating pockets in civil administration and the Army in their bid to fill the vacuum in the Arab ranks.

In 1951, as the ban was removed, the Ikhwan al-Muslimoon resumed its activities. For

a common Arab the call of Islam still has the strongest appeal. Hence the Ikhwan al-Muslimoon succeeded in attracting millions of young men round it and the strength of its membership reached two million in a short period of two years only. The sudden popularity of this Islamic party became a source of anxiety for the United States, Britain, Russia and Israel. It was not possible for the Arab nationalists and the worshippers of the western culture to stem the tide of this popular movement. Hence all these anti-Islam elements joined hands to crush the organization and another attack was made on it in December, 1954. Five leaders of the movement were sent to the gallows and ten thousand members were imprisoned and were subjected to tortures the like of which human history is unable to present a parallel.

Happiest was Israel, and the Jews all over the world. They knew it full well that if there was any danger for them in the Arab States, it was Ikhwan al-Muslimoon, which was the embodiment of Islam in its true form. In this way a yawning gap was created by crushing a movement imbued with the fervour of Jehad and the true spirit of Islam. Alas! the Jewish mission was fulfilled by one who is supposed to be a "Muslim".

Who Tried to Fill the Vacuum

Now was the opportunity for all the subversive forces to proceed and capture field vacated by this Islamic movement. And they did it with

full vigour. Came forward the Arab nationalists and the Communists. The Jews tried to fill this gap by inventing catchy, misleading slogans, America supported the secular elements and the anti-Islamic factions and elements. Baath party was the biggest organisation of such nationalist elements. It was led by Michael Iflak, a Christian Arab, who was flanked on both sides by Daruze and Alvi (Nusseri) military officers. The Baath concentrated ts activities in Iraq, Syria and Jordan and succeeded in enlisting a large number of young persons as its members.

In Egypt, the movement for the revival of the Pharaoic civilization was launched with full vigour. Later on, the new Egyptian leadership felt that they could easily assume the leadership of the whole Arab world. But the revival of the Pharaoic civilization and the leadership of the Arab world can never go together. But it was given to the present U.A.R. leadership to launch these mutually exclusive movements at one and the same time. They confined the movement for the revival of the Pharaoic civilization to Egypt and stepped forward to assume the leadership of the whole Arab world. And when they went ahead they eclipsed the powerful and widespread Baath Party. Inspite of the fact that both these movements stand for Arab nationalism, they are at dagger's drawn and remain constantly busy in weakening each other. It was this period when Britain was on its way out and so there began a race between America and Russia to fill the void

being created with the exit of the British. Both the giant Powers started infiltrating the political, economic, social and cultural fields to bring the Arab States under their influence. The Communists were clever enough in siding with the nationalist movements. The Americans failed to make headway due to their foolhardiness in assuming an anti-Muslim and anti Islam posture under the powerful political and economic pressure of the Jews and world Zionism. These countries adopted the slogan of socialism to please Russia and also took some measures in this direction. The World Powers and the local rulers, in their own selfish interests created circumstances which engulfed the whole Arab nation in a political crisis. And the manner in which the Arabs massacred the Arabs finds no parallel in history. In Yemen only, about a quater million persons were butchered by their own Arab brethren. There began an endless series of conspiracies against the Arab regimes and the air was thick with poisonous and intriguing propaganda campaigns against one another in the Press and on radio. It was said that no common cause would be made with the reactionaries even on the issue of Israel.

The Russian Influence

In short, Egypt and Syria were now financially in the grip of Russia and this prepared ground for a cultural invasion of the Socialist countries on the Arab peoples. W.Z. Lacqueur writes in "The Soviet Union and the Middle East":

> "Communism had never been quite so successful in Lebanon as in Syria, and after 1954 the centre of communist cultural activities was shifted from Beirut to Damascus. On the initiative of the Association of Syrian writers, the "First Arab Writers' Congress" was convened in Syrian capital in September 1954. This subsequently became a highly efficient front organisation, extremely active in shaping Syrian cultural life and public opinion,"[26]

> "A cursory analysis of the intellectual climate in the Arab world in the early and middle fifties was required in order to put the Soviet cultural offensive into perspective and to explain its success."[27]

How enthusiastically this Russian cultural invasion was received in Arab countries can be estimated from the speech of an Egyptian Ambassador in Moscow. He said:

> "Soviet culture has become an objective in Egypt because it is based on the principles of democracy and love of humanity that are characteristic of the Soviet Union."[28]

Russia used the below-mentioned weapons in its cultural invasion:

1. Among the various cultural exchanges, the impact of the books was traditionally the most important.

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[26] W.Z. Lacqueur, op. cit: p. 286.

[27] Ibid., p. 287.

[28] Ibid., p. 288.

2. The Egyptian and Syrian wrtiers who were translated into Russian undoubtedly felt quite flattered.

3. Soviet movies shown in the Arab world capitals included all the main films produced after 1953. At cinema festival in Damascus in 1956, the Soviet film **Othelo** was given the first prize...... Other exchanges included Soviet exhibitions and the appearance of Soviet artists, both collectively and individually, representing many fields of entertainments and artistic endeavour.

4. Radio Moscow also increased considerably its Arabic language broadcasts after 1955.

5. Large youth delegations went from Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and even Jordan and Iraq, to various youth festivals in East European capitals—such as the Moscow Festival (The Sixth) in summer 1957. (The Syrian delegation also joined with 450 members). The Egyptian Press was very impressed by the enthusiastic reception accorded to the Egyptian delegation in Moscow.

6. Number of Egyptian students in Soviet Union is increasing day by day after

1958 as a result of financial difficulties and political considerations.[29]

What results such cultural onslaught can produce needs no elucidation.

The materialistic culture of the West, activities of the Christian Missionaries, conspiracies of the Jews and the Freemasons, and after that political and cultural infiltrations by the Socialist countries, shook the foundations of the Arab countries and the whole nation was afflicted with political and social crisis. To their misfortune, the new rising leadership could not give to the people except mental ideological anarchy. But this is also a fact that except a misroscopic minority which is in power with the help of some anti-Islam foreign nations, and which wants to remain in power at any cost, the bulk of the nation has refused to swallow these sugar-coated pills. In fact the Arabs are lying in a state of torpor.

To what extent this nationalist leadership failed in its attempts to crush the Islamic movement out of existence can be guessed from the following

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[29] Walter Z. Lacqueur, op. cit., p 289.
Here one should keep in mind Pakistan while studying the Russian cultural invasion on the Arab countries. The same flooding of Pakistan by Russian and Chinese literature, and the same exchange of "cultural missions". And look at the arrangements that were made for the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the U.S.S.R. One communism struck Pakistani poet was given Lenin Prize.

observation. Britain, America and the Jews knew it fully well that the success of this Islamic movement means not only the extermination of the cancerous growth of Israel, but with it the extinction of the influence of these imperialist Powers. So they exerted their collective pressure, and towards the end of 1954 had the Ikhwan movement suppressed at the hand of the new nationalist leadership. Martial Law was imposed on the country. Radio and television were under Government control. There was a total ban on every kind of political and even social activity. The educational system enforced by the new regime was based on the principles of Arab nationalism and trained the students to work for the revival of Pharaoic civilisation. They were being told that "What could not be achieved by Prophet Muhammad was achieved by Nasser" (God forbid). There was a reign of terror in the country. The Government had control even over the pulpit of every mosque. Cairo Radio (Saut al-Arab) had complete sway not only our Egypt but on the whole Arab world. Inspite of such terrific conditions, the Islamic movement has unbounded appeal for millions of youngmen. Hence new charges were concocted in 1965 to attack once again. Nearly fifty .thousand Ikhwan including about one thousand women, were put behind bar. This time the plan to crush the Ikhwan was prepared by the help of the Communists. Gamal Abdul Nasser declared his decision to proceed against the Ikhwan in

Moscow in order to please the Russians. President Nasser perhaps was the first head of any State to break the tradition of not making announcements on internal matters in a foreign land. The Ikhwan were again passing through hard times. Three great sons of Islam smilingly went to the gallows for the glory of their faith.

In this episode, noteworthy is the fact that the Islamic movement could attract such a large number of workers inspite of the total ban on speech, writing and meetings of Ikhwan and the publication of its literature and, despite the fact that Communist thought and literature was receiling all the backing of Nasser's regime and their cultural offence proceeded in full swing.

Still more remarkable is the fact that among those arrested were about six to seven thousand persons below thirty and most of them were highly educated having degrees in engineering, medicine and teaching. These youngmen were little school children when Nasser came to power. They were taught and trained in the manner the regime desired to do. They heard what the new leader wanted them to hear and saw what they were officially shown. Inspite of all these draconian measures, it was heartening to find so many persons imbued with the spirit of Islam, particularly when to do so was to invite trouble and wrath of the rulers. How it is possible in such a situation to keep count of the persons (still out of jail) who are working for the revival and glory of Islam in Egypt and other Arab countries.

Mr. G.H. Jansen, the correspondent of the **Statesman,** New Delhi, India, who is known for his anti-Muslim proclivities wrote an article after visiting the U.A.R. in 1966. Mr. Jansen had to admit, inter alia, that "the younger generation and the educated people of Egypt find irresistible attraction in the Islamic call of the Ikhwan."[30]

This state of affairs is enough to prove the contention that the new leadership was more calloous and inimical to Islam than their predecessors. It has no aim before it except the desire to foist an alien ideology and way of life on the Arabs. The Arabs are Muslims and want revival of Islam. But the new leadership is the salesman of the alien imported ideas and is trying to check the movement for the revival of Islam. Hence the whole Arab world is beset with extreme internal conflict of ideas. Moreover, the Westernised and Socialist elements have no aim before them except material progress and a life of luxury. Hence they easily fall to the temptation of wealth, wine and woman,[31] the commodities of which there is no dearth either with the Western Powers, Russia

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[30] **Radiance,** Delhi, India, March, 1966.

[31] The Chief of the Egyptian Air Force, who has been sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment by the Military Tribunal recently, was reported to have a Jewish keep, who was suspected to be a C.I.A. agent. Just that night when Israel was planning attack, the top officers of the Egyptian air force were indulging in drunken orgies. Now this unfortunate and highly *(continued on page 45)*

or the Jews. All these Powers are highly successful as far as these aims are concerned. They have been able to create their stooges in the Arab armies and civil services. And these stooges are the chief cause of the Arab defeat, because most of them are in the front rank of the Arab heirarchy. The facts are facts. They can never be belied. So long as this sort of leadership, be it civil or military, literary or ideological, controls the destiny of the Arab peoples, they should have no hope to prosper and find a due place in the comity of the nations.

(continued from page 45)

indefensible fact has been admitted by the right-hand man of President Nasser, Hasnain Heikal, editor of authoritative Cairo daily, **Al-Ahram.** Heikal writes:

> "We should have no hesitation in admitting the fact that Arab Intelligence Service did not prove equal to the task. On the contrary, most of the secret service institutions were fully busy at home to help keep the present leadership in power. That is why they had no time to pay attention towards the war front." (**Nawa-i Waqt,** Lahore, February 29, 1968).

PART TWO

A Study of Trends and Events

This article was written in September, 1967. There have been three major changes during this period, viz: 1) Withdrawal of Egyptian forces from Yemen after Khartoum Conference and the fall of Sellal Government, 2) British withdrawal from South Arabia, and formation of the Republic of South Yemen. 3) The British resolution was passed in the Security Council for settlement of the present crisis. But all these events have produced no marked change in the real situation as discussed here.

The tiny state of Israel destroyed in the war of June 1967 the combined military strength of Egypt, Syria and Jordan, forced them to lay down arms, and captured an area three times more than its size. And all this was over in only 91 hours. Its forces have taken possession of an area extending from the Western bank of River Jordan to the Eastern bank of the Suez Canal. The Arab countries combined have a population twenty times more than that of Israel and their land, air and naval strength was far superior in every respect The Russian armament supplied to Egypt and Syria was in no way inferior to that possessed by Israel. The Arabs enjoyed open support and aid of a big world power, like Russia. From the point of view of the material resources also, Israel was no match to them. But all these factors combined could not save the Arab countries from a defeat in which they also lost one of the most sacred places of the world of Islam.

This was the third Arab-Jew clash during the last 20 years. The first war in 1948 lasted nearly eight months, the 1956 encounter was over in six or seven days, and the third one did not last for more than 91 hours. The heart of every Muslim the world over is perturbed over the tragic episode and he is at a loss to understand how could such an unequal fight end in the victory of Israel especially when, in September 1965, Pakistan frustrated the evil designs of a country six times stronger and which was fortified by the

solid support of the combined strength of the United States of America and Soviet Russia. Then there is the Vietnam war where a puny state of South East Asia has become a graveyard of mighty American forces and its prestige. And then think of the rout of the Arabs at the hands of Israel by far smaller and inferior in man-power and armaments.

All this was not by chance, as is said about the game of cricket. There must be some deep causes underlying this ignominious defeat. To understand the secret of Israel's victory over the Arabs, it is necessary to explore and size up the real source of Arab strength in the Middle East. Let us also analyse the circumstances that allowed the foreign powers to create a crisis in the Middle East carrying it to its logical end an armed confrontation and the defeat of the Arabs. Then we must also be informed of the designs of the foreign nations in this area, and the means they adopted to achieve those ends. How much part did America, Russia, Britain, the Arab countries and Israel play in bringing about this confrontation? All these questions will have to be scrutinised to get a clear picture of the background of the June War.

In 1948, when the state of Israel was pitchforked by Britain in the heart of the Arab world, the total population of Palestine was 2.1 million out of which 1.15 million were Muslims, .75 million Jews and .175 million Christians. The

Arab states of the Lebanon, Transjordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt girdling Palestine declared war on Israel. The total population of all these Arab countries was 40 million. These states had regular armies. But Israel, a state having only .75 million population, defeated the combined might of 40 million Arabs and sliced away a big chunk of Arab Muslim Palestine. Yet this war continued for eight months. More than one million Muslims emigrated from Palestine leaving .175 million behind in Israel. The area of Palestine that was still under the possession of the Arabs was further divided into two parts. Bait al-Maqdis and Al Khalil towards the West of the River Jordan were taken over by King Abdullah of Transjordan, Gaza was occupied by Egypt.

This defeat set forth a wave of agony and unrest throughout the Arab countries giving rise to agitation protest and wrath against their respective rulers. Outside, Britain bore the brunt of widespread hatred and indignation, being directly responsible for thrusting State of Israel on Arabs. Inside, King Farouk of Egypt and King Abdullah of Jordan were held as arch-criminals in the eyes of the people. At last King Abdullah was shot dead by a Palestinian refugee in 1950 and King Farouk was dethroned in 1952.

By this time, cold war had broken out between America and Russia, and the latter tried to spread its tentacles in the Middle East. It was also trying

at the same time to establish a socialist state in Azarbyjan, a northern part of Iran, and was the inciting the Kurds against the Arabs to pave way for setting up an independent state of Kurdistan. Communist workers had formed a network all over Iraq, Egypt and Syria and were receiving all sort of aid from outside. On the other side, America was tightening its noose around Russia by signing military pacts with other countries. Countries right from Norway to Turkey were knit together into the NATO pact. America wanted to set up military bases under such a pact in the Middle East. British forces were entrenched in Cyprus, Suez, Jordan and Iraq. King Farouk, Abdullah and Iraqi Premier Nuri al-Saeed, were the most dependable stooges of the British. Britain did not want American infiltration to assume proportions dangerous to its vested interests. This Anglo-American tug of war was going on when Egypt underwent military revolution in 1952. This coup had the full backing of the United States of America.[1]

Soon after the revolution, Gamal Abdul Nasser displaced General Naguib and himself assumed all authority. Nasser was faced with two crucial problems on the solution of which depended the fate of the new regime. The first one, was

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[1] Andrew Tully, **CIA**, Crest Book, Fawcett Pub., New York, 1963, pp. 84-89. As the book is long since out of print relevant portions may be seen in the **Jewish Conspiracy and the Muslim World** by Misbahul Islam Faruqi (P. O. Box 2189, Karachi-18.)

to get rid of the British hold on the country and to abolish the Military bases along the Suez. The second one was, Palestine.

The new military junta no doubt started feverish preparations to achieve these ends, but in the process their first casualty was country's constitution which was replaced by the military regime. The next target was not Israel but the political parties of Egypt. And the third casualty were the fundamental rights of the people.[2]

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[2] Egypt has been groaning under one man-rule. His admirer, Mansfield, writes in **Nasser's Egypt** thus:

> "For the first 12 years of the Revolution, therefore, Nasser virtually governed without any means of consulting the popular will." (p. 195)

> "Finally, on 30 June the draft National Charter was approved by the Congress unamended in its entirety. The future political structure of Egypt had in fact been decided by one Man—Gemal Abdul Nasser." (pp. 197-198)

He comments further:

> "The National Union never gained the confidence or interest of the mass of the people during the five years of its legal existence, but it did establish the framework for the pyramidal system of government which was to become the pattern in the 1960s." (p. 198)

Then on page 211, the same gentleman apologises for Nasser thus:

(continued on page 54)

Among the political organizations, Muslim Brotherhood bore the brunt of the onslaught. This was the second attack. The first one was launched by King Farouk at the behest of the British Government that resulted in martyrdom

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(continued from page 53)

> "If Egypt's regime is excessively authoritarian, it is only partly the fault of those at the top; it is also the consequence of the last two thousand years of history which have made the people submissive to authority. The Egyptians are not natural rebels or martyrs. There is an elaborate secret police apparatus which is widely believed to tap the telephones and watch the activities of all resident foreigners and prominent Egyptians in sensitive positions. If this police force did everything that it is said to do, it would have to be ten million strong, but it is undeniably widespread and active," (p 211) ..

He confesses that most who died of ill-treatment in the prison camps belonged to Muslim Brotherhood . About the Communists that were imprisoned he says that:

> "Some of those imprisoned as Communists were highly theoretical left-wing intellectuals who hardly threatened the State. They have now, however, **all been released**..........Some of the Marxist intellectuals who **reconciled with the regime have been reinstated with the Press.** In **Al-Tal'lah** (Vanguard), a political monthly magazine which **Al-Ahram** began to publish in January 1965, a group of them are making an interesting effort **to develop a synthesis of Marxism and the ideas in the National Charter."** (pp. 211-212)

Yet the gentleman is making worldwide propaganda that Nasser is anti-Communist and opposed to Communism.

of Husan al-Banna.[3] The second attack was made by the new military regime when the Ikhwan were re-organising themselves after recovering from the previous attack. In these days the British army was being kicked by the Ikhwan guerellas. The British Government entered into a new pact with the Egyptian regime, and an agreement was drafted. But as the agreement was against the best interests of Egypt, the Ikhwan urged their government not to sign this document. This honest and sincere opposition was enough excuse for Mr. Nasser to start a vendetta against the Islamic movement whose activities were indeed a death warrant for Israel and the British.

The Muslim Brotherhood was declared unlawful and Abdul Qadir Audah and several other leaders were put to death. Nearly 10,000 Ikhwan were arrested. In this way Gemal Abdul Nasser scuttled with his own hands the Islamic movement which was a terror for Israel and other Imperialist powers. At that time the Ikhwan stood condemned for the false charge of trying to murder Nasser. But the truth did come out. On 21st September 1965, President Nasser while

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[3] While touring the Middle Eastern countries a highly responsible personality who has spent major part of his life fighting the Jews and the British, and is stationed now in Lebanon, himself opined to the writer that after the revolution in Egypt in 1952, he himself had seen a letter in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was written by the Ambassador of United Kingdom advising the Egyptian Government to crush the Ikhwan al-Muslimoon.

speaking at Port Saeed himself confessed that **he sincerely wanted cooperation and assistance of the Muslim Brotherhood, but the demand of enforcing Islamic law and way of life as a condition precedent for their cooperation could not be acceptable as in the words of Nasser this condition will take all joy from life.**

Baghdad Pact

In 1954, America started negotiations with Arab leaders for a military pact against Russia. The proposed pact was to be named MEDO (Middle East Defence Organisation). But the negotiations ended in Anglo-American differences. As the British were not prepared to give up their hold on this area, they wanted Nuree al-Saeed of Iraq to be the central figure in the pact. America wanted ascendency of Nasser.[4] These negotiations

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[4] About the American collaboration with Nasser, much light has been thrown in a recent book; Randolph S. Winston S. Churchill, **The Six Day War** (Heinemann, 1967), as follows:

> "During his early years in power, Nasser was much encouraged by the United States, where policy makers considered him to be a moderate, and a potential friend of the West. When Nasser succeeded Neguib, Kermit Roosevelt of the CIA installed for the Egyptian premier a permanent consultant, Miles Copeland, in the next office.
>
> "Even after Nasser made his arms deal with Russia in 1955, the Arabists in the US State Department and in the CIA still had hopes of his

(continued on page 57)

were still in its preliminary stage when Nuree al-Saeed took the initiative and concluded with Turkey a pact that was later on joined by Pakistan, Iran and Britain. It was known by the name of Baghdad Pact. Though not a regular member of this Pact, U.S.A. was fully associated with it and looked forward to its eventual success. U.S.A. become member of the Military and Economic Committees of Baghdad Pact. This Pact provoked strongest opposition from Nasser. To exert pressure on Nasser, America stopped aid for Aswan Dam and the supply of armaments.

(continued from page 56)

remaining essentially pro-Western, In fact, Kermit Roosevelt told Stephen Barber of the **Sunday Telegraph** that, looking back, he felt Nasser had 'begun to go wrong' at the time of the Russian arms deal. When corrected that it was Czech arms deal, he replied: 'No, it never was a Czech arms deal. I invented that myself. You see, I was sitting in Nasser's office one morning when an orderly came in and said Sir Humphrey Trevelyan, the British Ambassador and now High Commissioner in Aden, was downstairs asking to see Nasser. Nasser asked me what I thought Sir Humphrey wanted. I said it was surely about the rumours that were already buzzing about the Russian deal. "What shall I tell him?" said Nasser. 'Oh, tell him it isn't a Russia arms deal but a Czech one—it won't sound so bad." (pp. 19 and 20.)

"The irony is that back in the early days, after Nasser and his military junta of Free Officers with General Neguib as their figurehead, ousted King

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Beginning of Russian Influence and the Suez War

Despaired of the Western powers' attitude, Egypt in 1955 sought aid from Russia for Aswan Dam and also a contract to buy armaments from the Socialist countries. This was followed by rationalization of Suez canal by the Egyptian Government in 1956. This was a blow too much to take it lying down as it was to undermine the political and economic position of Britian not only in the Middle-East, but also all over the world. In order to take revenge, Britain conspired with Israel and France and in October, 1956 brought about Israeli attack on Sinai. Fortified by

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(concluded from page 57)

> Farouk, it was the Central Intelligence Agency that befriended Nasser.
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> "The man who did more than any other American can to build up Nasser was Kermit Roosevelt, vice-president of Gulf Oil and ex CIA agent. He was also the man who helped unhorse Moussadeq of Iraq in 1952. Roosevelt instaued Miles Copeland, euphemistically referred to on the BBC programme **24 Hours** on June 7 as ' the former American diplomat in the Middle East and intimate of President Nasser'. He worked in the next office to Nasser as a 'consultant' during the days when Nasser, having ousted Neguib, was running Egypt at the head of the Revolutionary Command Council on Gezira Island from the Palance alongside the mooring of Farouk's yacht." (pp. 33-34)

Another writer Pater Mansfield, extremely pro Nasser and who is never tired showering all sorts of praises on the dictator, writes in his **Nasser's Egypt** (Penguin African Library):

> "In the early years of the revolution indeed, he (Nasser) was regarded as pro-American". (p. 84)

British and French air forces, Israel dealt a crushing blow to Egyptian forces and captured Sinai within only seven days. An accomplice in the early stage of the conspiracy, America retraced its step in view of the international situation and assumed the role of a mediator. Russia gave an ultimatum to jump into the fray. This halted the Israeli forces at the eastern bank of the Suez. The Security Council sent its peace forces in the area forcing Israel to return to its own frontiers.

Israeli Possession of Gulf of Aqaba

Taking an undue advantage of the presence of UN troops, Israel started navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba. **This fact has recently come to light that in 1957, after the 1956 attack on the Suez, President Nasser had assured America through the former UN Secretary-General, late Dag Hammarshjoeld, to ensure peace for ten years in the area and had also given free hand to Israel for navigation in the Gulf. This agreement was duly registered in the UN headquarters and can be available for study.**[5] (This was probably the

[5] **Mr. Brooks signed this document on behalf of the U.S. State Department. America, in reality, intended to win over Egypt by giving financial aid during these ten years thereby removing bitterness created as a result of discontinuing aid for Aswan Dam. On the other hand this 10-year respite will enable Israel to become a force to be reckoned with through all round development and eventually the Arabs will accord defacto recognition to this protege of America.**

reason why the USA had been giving extraordinary aid (2618 Million Dollars) to Egypt till 1966 and readily recognised the Sallal Government established with the help of President Nasser.) Israel took undue advantage of the permission to navigate in the Gulf by developing Eilath into a first rate port and made a route for its trade with East Africa and the Far East. And thus also extended its sphere of influence.

Though in 1956 war too Egyptian forces were put to rout but the combined treacherous attack of Britain, France and Israel evoked condemnation from all over the world and also in America and Russia causing withdrawal of the Israeli troops. **The propaganda unleashed by the Nasser regime succeeded in diverting Arab people's attention from this Egyptian set back, and the people were not even told that the Gulf had been opened to Israeli navigation. The fact was disclosed to the people several years later by the opponents of President Nasser when rift among the Arab rulers had become pretty serious.**

Nasser Forms United Arab Front

The 1956 Israeli attack and Egyptian control on the Suez canal strengthened the position of Nasser in the Arab as well as in the whole Muslim world. Cairo Radio played its role successfully by popularising Nasser and creating his supporters in Iraq, Syria, Jordan and other Arab States. These pro-Nasser elements were instrumental in

hatching up plots in their respective countries. Their first target was King Hussain of Jordan. Unfortunately British forces were stationed in Jordan and the commander of the Jordanian forces was also an Englishman, Glubb Pasha. The next targets of the Nasserites were King Feisal of Iraq, his uncle, Prince Abde Ilah and Premier Nurie al-Saeed. British army was entrenched in Iraq also. It was Nurie al-Saeed of Iraq who created favourable climate for Baghdad Pact in place of the MEDO. This Baghdad Pact was responsible for making not only Iraq, but also Pakistan, Iran and Turkey targets of Cairo Radio broadcasts. Cairo Radio went to the extent of saying that **"both Pakistan and Israel were the creation of the British conspiracy."**[6]

Union of Egypt and Syria

Cairo Radio was on the one hand intoxicating the people with the heady wine of Arab nationalism and on the other launching a propaganda barrage against other Arab States. This propaganda provided strength to the nationalist and communist elements. Now Jordan was the scene of several disturbances. Repeated attempts were made to dethrone King Hussein. Cairo Radio blared out to the peoples of Iraq, Jordan and Saudi Arab to go ahead and harvest the Crowns' "crop" which is now quite ripe. Increasing communist activities compelled Syria to seek shelter

[6] This painful remark was repeated by President Nasser in his talk to a Pakistani Pressman.

of President Nasser by forming a union with Egypt. Hence in February, 1958, Syrian Parliament unanimously decided to form a union of Egypt and Syria by the name of United Arab Republic. This union under the tutelage of President Nasser was made to enhance his prestige in the Arab states.

Iraqi Revolution

Nasser's propaganda over the Cairo Radio led to a bloody coup in Iraq in 1958, resulting in the murder of King Feisal, Prince Abde Ilah, Premier Nurie al-Saeed and countless other members of the royal family, Col. Abdul Karim Qasim had come to power. Perhaps this was the happiest day in the life of Nasser when his opponent Nurie al-Saeed was done to death. But precisely this was the very day whence Nasser's influence started declining. And through Qasim, these were actually the Communists who had come to power in the garb of the Nationalists. Now Nasser and Qasim looked daggers drawn at each other. And there started a war of nerves against Qasim by Cairo Radio in the same language which had been once used against Feisal and Nurie al-Saeed. Nasser was at his old game of conspiracies against Qasim also.

By now the Syrians had learnt what a loser they had been as a result of this union, and at last in 1961 they achieved separation from Egypt. This event was a telling blow to Nasser's prestige

which has never been rehabilitated since. Reaction set in even in the Arab world. The Baathists exploited this situation to the fullest extent and eventually they came to power in Iraq and Syria. This party was opposed to Islam, on the one hand and Nasser, on the other.

Coup in Yemen[7]

In order to shore up his sagging prestige, Nasser engineered a military coup in Yemen in 1961. Nasser had two more objects before him. He wanted to have a puppet regime in Yemen to use it as a base to extend his influence on Aden and South Arabian States and in this way gradually include the Arabian Gulf States of Dubai, Sharja, Abu Dhabi, Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait in the sphere of his influence. Nasser also wanted to use Yemen as a base to topple the Saudi Government. (Egypt had for quite sometime an eye on Saudi oil).

But President Nasser's guess that the new Military regime will be in full control within a few days, proved wrong as by chance Imam Badar made good his escape. He collected the faithful tribes round him and stood up against the new regime. This compelled Nasser to station his 70,000 men-strong army in Yemen. But despite such an effective military aid, Sallal could not extend the frontiers by even an inch. The six-year

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[7] This article was written before the Khartoum Conference decision and overthrow of President Sallal.

long civil war took a toll of millions of Yemeni lives, in addition to 25,000 Egyptians. This war has cost the Sallal Government and Nasser 1500 million pounds sterling and Imam Badar is still up in arms. Sallal's own trusted lieutenants have turned against him and demanding exit of the Egyptian troops. Two former Premiers, General Hasan al-Amri and Ahmad Muhammad Nauman, who had gone to Cairo for talks with Nasser on this issue were put behind bars along with 14 other companions. The crippling effect which this civil war had on the economy of Egypt will be discussed as we proceed.

Decline of Nationalist Movement

Now the Nationalist movement unleashed by Nasser was slowly losing its force as the Baathists of Iraq and Syria, who were much more vociferous nationalists, had entered the field as a rival to the Nasserites. The slogan of Arab unity too had lost its meaning and force as all the conspiracies, coups and unheavals engineered in its name split the Arabs more than ever before instead of welding them into one nation. Perturbed over this alarming state of affairs, King Feisal of Saudi Arabia started efforts for world Muslim unity and his tour of the Muslim countries for this purpose was highly promising. Nasser saw in this call to world Muslim unity a challenge to his supremacy and sought the help of the Socialist camp to counter this 'dangerous' move. Russia pressed the Baathists to make common cause with

Nasser to fight the world Islamic unity movement jointly.

Below are given the consequences of President Nasser's policies during his 13-year regime since he came to power in 1954:

Ideological Front

At the time Nasser assumed power, the Muslims of Egypt and other countries had a deep aversion against the Western Powers and their culture. Millions of people, particularly youngmen, were drawing closer to Islam as a result of the efforts of the Muslim Brotherhood. Nasser tried to crush this great Islamic movement mercilessly and then fill the gap with the slogans of revival of Pharaoic civilization, Arab nationalism and Arab socialism. **Nasser had the audacity to declare that the Egyptians had the chance to rule their country for the first time after about 4000 years. In other words the period from Amr bin al Aas to King Farooq was a period of alien rule.** Pharaoh Ramses the second, who ordered killing of all Israeli male infants and then drowned in Nile was declared a national hero, his era the brightest period of Egyptian civilization. His image was printed on currency notes and postage stamps and his statues were installed at several prominent places. His 52-foot high statue was given pride of place just in front of the railway

station of Cairo.[8] The walls of all Government offices were decorated with the pictures of Ramses and his period was particularly included in the text books for schools and colleges. In this way the Nasser regime strained every nerve to destroy 1300-year old Islamic civilization and revive Pharaohic civilization. Now their slogan has been: "We, the Sons of the Pharaohs".

All these machinations, no doubt, failed to drive away the people from Islam. In fact they threw the whole Egyptian nation into moral and intellectual anarchy and ideological confusion. The people wanted to return to Islam, while their rulers wanted to push them on the road to Pharaohic civilization and nationalism and Socialism. The failure of the secularists in this tug-of-war is evident from the fact that between 1965 and 1966, about 50,000 Ikhwan (among them are 800 women) were rounded up by the Nasser Government. The most remarkable thing about it was that about 10,000 of those arrested were quite young. As stated before they were just in schools, when Nasser came to power. They learnt, what Nasser wanted them to learn and heard and saw what the new regime wanted to hear and see. They were brought up in such an atmosphere, but they refused to succumb to Nasser's philosophy. G.H. Janson, the well-known correspondent of Daily 'Statesman', New Delhi, India, who obviously has no soft corner for Islam, has written a review on the trials of the Ikhwan. He writes:

[8] H.A. Rashid, **Persecution of Ikhwan,** Karachi 1966.

"Gamal Abdul Nasser has miserably failed to fill the gap which existed at the time of his coming to power."[9] He also noticed that the Islamic movement of the Muslim Brotherhood has an irresistable charm for the educated youth of Egypt.

Internal Politics

The country had been smarting under Martial Law for several years since 1952 and the army more or less controlled the civil administration. Now the country has a constitution known as "National Charter" pledged to the revival of Pharaohic civilization and Socialist system. Mr. Nasser likes to call it Arab Socialism.[10] **but the national press interprets it in terms of Marxism.** There is only one party, the Arab Socialist Union, in the country which has been infiltrated by the Communists, rather being over-ruled by them Even this single party wended its way to the National Assembly not through direct elections but through Basic-Democracy-like system as is prevalent in Pakistan. No other political party can be allowed to prosper in the country. Citizens have no fundamental rights at all. As if it is not enough, there is a network of spying all over the country

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[9] Weekly Radiance, Delhi, March 1966.

[10] To understand Arab Socialists, study of the article of Mr. Khalil Hamidi in "Socialism Number" of **Chiragh-e-Rah**, Karachi, 1967 will be useful.

as is the essential feature of the Socialist and Fascist regimes. (It is surprising that this spying network finds an easy prey in the Ikhwan and other Islam-loving elements, but lets hundreds of military officers go scot free, who have been purged out of the army for the alleged treachery in the recent June War.)

Economic Condition

Being an agricultural country basically, Egypt's main foreign exchange earner is cotton. When America refused to give armaments in 1954-55, Egypt got them in exchange for cotton from the Socialist countries. Cotton is still being supplied to these countries at the same old rate, though its rates have gone up very high in the world market over the last twelve years, In its turn the Egyptian Government pays same old rates tothe growers. As this business is controlled by the Government itself, bribery and other irregularities on the part of the officials leave back very little for the poor grower. The Yemeni war has cost Egypt over 1500 million pounds resulting in exhorbitant rise in prices and the people have to stand for hours in never ending queues to purchase rice, meat and other necessaries of life.

Private properties and firms have been seized in the name of Socialism, but the beneficiaries of this seizure are the big officials. And what a strange brand of Socialism this system is, which is prepared to take over private properties

the basic necessities of life of any individual! Here it is merely a one-way traffic!

Moreover, foreign loans are breaking the back of the national economy. The total US aid since 1957 amounts to 2618 million dollars. And the pity is that the major portion of these loans is spent on spying and hatching conspiracies and massive propaganda campaigns. The situation has come to such a pass that even the disposal of all the gold reserves have failed to repay the debts and very abjectly grace period is being sought from the lending countries. Cotton had already been mortgaged, now financial control of Suez canal too is in Russian hands.[11]

Arab World Unity

There is an organisation called Arab League. It was the result of the Arab states desire to come closer to each other. This organization, though not sufficiently effective and active, was at least a forum for discussion of common problems. Nor in those days these countries looked daggers drawn at one another. On the contrary, union of Egypt and the Sudan was almost a matter of time. Faruk's announcement as the King of Egypt and the Sudan was received unchallenged. In the Sudan itself there were effective groups who stood for this

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[11] U.A.R. has failed to repay loan of 14 million dollars to Japan and she is thinking of taking suitable measures against U.A.R.—Daily **Jang**, Karachi 28 October, 1966.

union. Then General Naguib (whose mother was a Sudanese) as head of new regime was himself a great cementing force and symbol of unity. But Nasser came, and the whole process was reversed and the unity of the Nile Valley became an impossibility.

There is no denying that Nasser won popularity by taking control of the Suez. But he misserably failed to channelise this upsurge of popular support into a solid political force of all the Arab peoples. Today over the long 13 years there is not a single Arab country which is close to Nasser. If the Syrian Baathists pose to be with him it is simply under the pressure of Russia. The other two, Iraq and Algeria, no doubt chime in with Nasser the slogans of Socialist supremacy but on all other issues they refuse to toe his line. The rest of the countries are opposed to the Nasser's line of thinking, and King Feisal's clarion call for world Muslim unity has become a serious challenge to his leadership.

President Nasser's call for Arab unity was three-pronged. He began to rally Egyptians round him in the name of revival of Pharaohic civilization. Obviously this slogan could have a fascination for the Coptics only. Qur'an describes Pharaoh as "rebel of God." How the "sovereignty" of such a disagreeable figure could be forced down the throat of a Muslim whether an Egyptian or of any other country.

Then he summoned people to Arab nationalism. This slogan can have its appeal among a certain section of the people. How could it interest the non-Arabs comprising Kurds, Berbers and various other groups of people? On the contrary this slogan was taken as challenge by these ethnic groups. What else could be the slogan except Arab Nationalism that stoked the fire of a long drawn out war between the Kurds and Iraqi Arabs. In short this call towards Arab nationalism became a source of serious disunity among the Arabs. It will be interesting to note that when relations between Nasser and Qasim of Iraq became strained, Nasser helped the Kurds against Arabs of Iraq. It needs no keen sense of perception to understand that how can a nation who does not discriminate between the black and the white, the Arabs and the non-Arabs, bracket Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and his venerable companions with the hated Abu Jahl and Abu Lahab as great leaders of the Arabs?

The third slogan raised was for Socialism which became a cause of yet greater dissensions. This anti-Islamic creed was the invention of Karl Marx, who was a Jew. Hence this was naturally to be rejected by the Muslims. But if it could do nothing else at least it gave rise to a tussle between the Socialists and the non-Socialists. Thus in this way these mutually exclusive slogans of Mr. Nasser disunited the Arabs as they were never before in their history. These are hard facts and none dare refute them.

Obsessed with such strangely assorted ideas, Nasser was naturally to be found wanting in his support to the world of Islam on any issue.

(1) It was given only to a person like him to invite and lionise Makarios, the murderer of Cyprus Muslims to his country. And he openly gave him armaments for further massacre of Muslim Turks.

(2) As if this was not enough, Nasser started hobnobbing with Heil Selassie of Abyssinia, the Jew-loving Christian ruler, who is guilty of genocide of the Muslim popultion. He has tightened his strong-hold on Eriteria, a Muslim country handed over to him by the Western imperialists. Eriterian Muslims are fighting for their honour but Nasser feels no qualms of conscience in supporting Heil Selassie. He has also eaten up a large portion of Muslim Somalia and is also responsible for creating trouble in South Sudan.

(3) Arab population of Zanzibar was the worst sufferer from the venomous propaganda of Cairo Radio for Arab Nationalism. It resulted in the mass slaughter of Arabs in Zanzibar by the Africans and exit of thousands of others. And Mr. Nasser was the first to recognise the new regime of Zanzibar. The Arab Ministers of Zanzibar are still in the Jails of Tanzania.

(4) India always enjoyed the support of Mr. Nasser on Kashmir issue. As if this was not enough to smite Pakistan, he launched a joint programme for the manufacture of arms with India. It may be noted that India has not only recognised Israel, but also advises the Arabs to follow suit. But this hated Indian stand is no bar to the brotherly ties between New Delhi and Cairo. And on the other hand, Pakistan and Indonesia, who can have no sympathies with the contemptible and illegitimate state of Israel, have always been the targets of Egyptian rulers' wrath. Nasser had soft corner for Indonesia, when Godless communists were in power, but was entirey a changed man when the anti-Communist element took control of the country. The Indonesian envoy has been cooling his heels in Cairo for months on end for an opportunity to present his credentials.[12]

5.) Nasser heard calmly the news of the merciless killing of the two great Muslim leaders of Nigeria, Ahmad Tafawa Balewa and Ahmedu Bello. He did not utter a single word in condemnation of this unwarranted butchery. But, on the other hand, the murder of Lumumba drew vociferous protests by the Nasser controlled Egyptian Press and had the whole of the National

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[12] **Daily Star Beirut, September, 3, 1967.**

Parliament in an uproar.[13]

6.) The Egyptian army has killed about 2,50,000 Yemeni Muslims beside itself losing heavily in men and material. Indiscriminate and unprovoked bombing on Saudi Arabian territory is another brotherly act of Mr. Nasser.

Such facts can be narrated **ad infinitum**

Egypt and Israel

Every Arab State refused to recognise Israel and decided to blot this child of Anglo-American diplomacy out of existence and resettle the uprooted Palestinian refugees back in their homeland. As Egypt was the biggest and the most advanced State, the refugees and other Arab peoples naturally looked towards it with hope. The new military regime inspired still more confidence in them. When in 1956 Britain had to quit Suez, the Arabs saw in Nasser their deliverer. Now Nasser was the cynosure of the eyes of all Arabs. And when Nasser kept on telling the refugees

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[13] All protests, demonstrations and rallies are totally banned in U.A.R. accept of course when they are deemed to be useful in the eyes of the Government. Murder of Lumumba was such an occasion. Mansfield says, "Since the Revolution, students have been forbidden to demonstrate except on rare occasions, such as after the murder of Lumumba, **when they were encouraged by the authorities." (Nasser's Egypt,** p. 123).

about the rush of armaments from the Socialist countries and local manufacture of rockets and atomic bombs, they were convinced that the day of their deliverance was drawing near. But days rolled on and the dream of the refugees to return to their homeland has remained as distant as ever. Then all of a sudden Nasser started emphasising the issue of the return of refugees to Palestine. Thereby implying that he does not mind if Israel exists. Nasser has been on the horns of dilemma trying to reconcile the two mutually antagonistic stands. Now the position was that while addressing the Arabs he repeated his stand for exterminating Israel,[14] but while addressing the Western powers he always called for the return of the refugess as the solution of the problem. There is no dearth of instances to substantiate this contention. But the latest one is the interview Mr. Nasser gave just a few days before the June war to the former Tory Minister of U.K., Sir Antohony Nutting. (Mr. Nutting was Mr. Edin's Foreign Minister, and had resigned due to differences over the Suez policy).

Gamal Abdel Nasser assured Mr. Nutting not to proceed further against Israel as he had achieved his immediate objective, by taking Tairan

[14] His mental dilemma has been succinctly put thus: "For a long time he was suspected among other Arab leaders because he refused to declare holy war against Israel. In private he said it was nearly impossible to destroy the Jewish state." WILLIAM STEVENSON, **Strike Zion**, Bantam, July 1967, p. 26.

and driving Israel out of the Gulf of Aqaba. Mr. Nasser then re-iterated that the real issue before them was of the return of Palestine refugees.[15] This was just a reiteration of what President Nasser in 1966 had told Mr. George Lee Hunt, Managing Director of the American "Life" Magazine,[16] and also in a T.V. interview for BBC, London. While in Washington King Hussein of Jordan also agreed with the contention that Israel must have a place in the Arab world, but that Israel must first qualify for such a position.[17] Elucidating this point in a Press Conference, Mr. Muhammad Hasanuzziat, official spokesman of the Egyptian Government, said: After 1949 truce, the Arab States have been accepting the Israel's right to exist in peace and security. This 1949 Truce also put a stop to the skirmishes that had been going after the exit of the British from Palestine. The truce was signed not only by the combatants but also the UN Representative Mr. Ralph Bunche. Hence it is now crystal clear that all Arab countries including Egypt had taken for granted the existence of Israel in peace and security. Then on November 10, 1967, the Egyptian delegate, Mr. Mahmud Riadh declared in the Security Council his country's desire for peace and an end to the state of war with Israel.[18]

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[15] Daily **Jang**, Karachi, June 6, 1967

[16] Daily **Da'wat**, Delhi, June 22, 1966.

[17] Daily **Jang**, Karachi, November

[18] Daily **Dawn**, Karachi, November 11, 1967.

Foreign Influences

In 1956 British influence in the Middle East, no doubt, received a rude jolt, but was still in control of its oil resources. Of course, the credit goes to Mr. Nasser for nationalising the Suez and it would really have been called a revolutionary step, had Nasser not thrown the Suez into the Russian fire after taking it out of the British frying pan. The Egyptians containue to be the loser as now Russia instead of Britain controls the Suez income. It is Nasser who is responsible for allowing Russia a foothold in Egypt which has now become a base for the U.S.S.R. to spread its tentacles in Syria, Iraq and then Yemen. Now Russia has a big submarine base at the Yemeni port of Hodidah. After the withdrawal of Egyptian army, Russia is filling in the vacuum by providing arms and advisers to the new Government in Yemen.

Last Resort

These were the circumstances which contributed to the failure of almost all policies of Mr. Nasser leading to the steady decline of his influence and the year 1966 presented Nasser's image as that of a discredited statesman. Thus in order to bolster up his declining prestige, Nasser, in these circumstances, had no way out except to take some adventurous step—in other words a gamble. Hence he gambled with the prestige of not only of the Arabs but also of the whole Muslim world. He actually staged a drama

that was obviously to end in such a horrifying tragedy. But Nasser was not the only character of this gory drama. There were some others who played important roles. Some knowledge about these characters is necessary to understand the whole drama and its modus operandi.

Syria

France left Syria with a financial and political stature higher than that of several Arab countries. Syria also fought against Israel in 1948. Syrian Ikhwan, under the command of Sheikh Mustafa Al-Sabai, took a vital part in the war. Their dauntless courage made a deep impression on the people. The Ikhwan brought to bear their influence on the country's Constitution and got in it introduced a provision that original source of law-making will be Islamic Code **(Shari'ah).** The Ikhwan were multiplying speedily, qualifying themselves to take up the reins of government. But the French had left all the key civil and military posts in the hands of the Christian Daruze and Alvi minorities. And how could these French stooges allow such a salutary change in government to go unchallenged. Alarmed by the Ikhwan's ascendency, these anti-Islamic elements became active and their machinations and intrigues resulted in military coups one after the other and led to chaotic political situation in the country.

The year 1956 saw rise of Nasser's influence in Syria The Nationalist sentiments were already

too strong here. The Communists started fishing in troubled waters and the situation had become ripe for a Communist take over of the government. Hence, as a way out, all the parties including the Ikhwan decided on merger with Egypt. They even accepted Nasser's condition to liquidate all political parties and willingly. surrendered their civic and political rights. This union was brought about in February 1958 by the name of **United Arab Republic** and lasted till September 1961, when this experiment proved a failure. The following were the Syrian grievances against Egypt:

(i) Egyptian civil and military officials behaved like alien bureacrats.

(ii) Egyptian military officers had an edge over their Syrian counterparts and drew higher pays.

(iii) Pharaohic civilization was for Islamiat in Syrian syllabi.

(iv) Syria had to share the economic depression in Egypt and accept curbs on foreign exchange and foreign trade.

(v) Syria tasted the bitter fruit of dictatorship for the first time and realised the intrinsic worth of the basic rights.

Separation from Egypt was followed by Assembly elections, demand for the enforcement of Islamic Constitution and then military coups again. This time the Baathists came to power with full vigour and ferocity. Since then the party is torn with dissensions. One of its group forms Government only to be toppled by its rival after sometime. Now the Alvi-group[19] holds power, who are inclined towards the Russian bloc. A strong opponent of Nasser, this group had to patch up with him under Russian pressure.

But these two warring groups of the Baathists are fanatical nationalists and trot out Socialism as an alternative creed in their bid to wean the people away from Islam. So active they are in demolishing Islamic values and culture that once their planes bombed the Grand Mosque of Hums killing many a faithful. Then their soldiers entered the historic Omayyad Mosque of Damascus and fired at the people offering prayers.

Recently, in May 1967, the Baath Party organ published a blatantly disparaging article about God and Islamic teaching and the protests from uelma and public were answered by persecution and

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[19] Alvees (Nusserees) are in reality Qaramita. An uncompromising enemy of Islam, they had once invaded Mecca and took away Hajral-Aswad (black stone). They were never accepted as part of Muslim society. The French named them **Alvees to make them** acceptable to the Muslims. They believe that Hazrat Ali was in fact God. Himself.

countrywide arrests of the demonstrators. This resulted in a week-long business strike in Damascus and other cities and serious tension between the rulers and the people. Many able and learned persons were forced to take refuge in other Arab countries. A large number of ulema had been rotting in jails till the June War. It is an irony, that an overwhelming majority of the country is totally helpless under the pressure of a tiny minority. This fluid political situation has led to total collapse of national economy, and a state once self-sufficient has now come to subsist on foreign aid.

The successive military coups over the last 20 years deprived the Syrian army of a large number of its seasoned officers. Split among several groups these officers always think of killing each other. Last year's case of General Aminul Hafiz is quite known to everybody. He was removed from office by his army colleagues who bombed his palace, killing his innocent daughter. The new group in power comprised Daruzes and Alvees. A few months later Daruzes were shunted out. Among Daruzi officers was Colonel Saleem Hatum who had been sentenced to death by a military tribunal just a few days earlier. One of Hatum's brother is a Brigadier in Israeli army, and both the brothers had been meeting on the border frequently. Thus on the one hand, the Syrian army afflicted with dissensions, had lost strength and on the other hand it was hated by the public.

In these circumstances, the Baathists were on the look out for some international crisis to divert people's attention from the internal situation to justify their iron hand on the country.

Jordan

The third country which fought with exemplary courage was Jordan. It had to bear the brunt of the Israeli attacks, and was the heaviest loser in men and material. Jerusalem and the mineral rich and fertile area west of the River Jordan was seized by Israel. The war took a toll of 1500 soldiers and countless Jordan citizens' life.

In 1948 war the Jordanian army did not allow Israel to take over that part of Palestine, which included old Jerusalem, Bethlehm, Alkhalil, Nablus, Jerico etc. It was later on annexed to Jordan by the late King Abdullah.

The Palestinians detested King Abdullah, as they believed that his treacherous attitude caused defeat in Palestine. Then the annexation of Palestine added fuel to the fire. So the King was shot dead by a refugee. The next, King Talal, was declared insane and sent out of the country leaving the throne for his 20-year old son, Hussein. At that time nationalist sentiments reigned supreme providing a good cover for the communist to prepare ground for themselves. Cairo Radio since 1954 found in King Hussein of Jordan a

convenient target for a barrage of diatribe due to the presence of British Army and its British Commander, Glubb Pasha. The Communists and nationalists joined hands to engineer riots after riots, especially in Palestine area. Many army revolts were organised, but failed to kill Hussein. At last in 1956 King very courageously shunted out the British troops and also got rid of the hated Glubb Pasha. This action was followed by the stoppage of British aid. But there was no stopping of blistering attacks from Cairo Radio.

The River Jordan divides the country into equal halves. Both these sides have been having different attitudes towards Hussein. The Palestinians were mostly anti-King, while the other ones always side with their ruler. It is an undeniable fact that he always laid stress on Muslim unity having no truck with Arab nationalists. On international plane he is pro-west and has introduced parliamentary system in his country. There is no ban on political parties and is the only Arab country which has been holding elections and whose people enjoy fundamental rights to some extent. But the moment King Hussein declared open support to King Faisal's move for Islamic unity Communist-dominated countries became more hostile and vociferous. Syria broke diplomatic ties with Jordan. It was followed by several border clashes. And when Israel attacked Jordanian village of AL-SAMOA, in November 1966, Syria and Egypt openly incited the Palestinians to oust King

Hussein. Hence there were demonstrations in every big city of Palestine. The pro-Nasser element led by Shukeiry did not hesitate to fire at the victorious Jordanian soldiers, who were returning jubilant from the border.

This was the situation when Russia warned Syria that Israeli attack was imminent. This new development put King Hussein into a dilemma. If he joins the war then Israel may seize a large part of his kingdom. But if he remains out of it there was danger of an uprising in the Palestinian area. But King Hussein chose to fight by the side of his Arab brethren and keeping aside past bitterness, himself flew to Cairo to sign a defence pact with Egypt.

Background of Arab Israel War

The imposition of the Zionists on the Arabs became a cause of perpetual conflict in the Middle East. But for the Zionists, Palestine was a mere foothold and a base for their expansionist designs. They aim at extending their area upto River Euphretes in the East, upto Cairo and Nile in the West, upto the Turkish border (comprising Syria and some part of Turkey) in the North and upto Medina in the South. The Zionists had chalked out a plan towards the end of the 19th century to achieve their evil aims and were now simply busy in implementing it. They have the whole World Jewry at their back and need not wait for any provocation to further their nefarious designs.

Israel on the one hand is a foothold for further expansion and on the other a base to safeguard the interests of the Western Powers, especially America. Actually Israel has been the offspring of Anglo-Russian race for influence in the Middle East. Simply to woe Israel, Russia pressed for the dissection of Palestine in the Security Council. And she did so inspite of the Anglo-American willingness to consider various alternative proposals. Indeed, Russia recognised Israel within a few hours of its coming into being. The East European countries toed the Russian line. Earlier, it was Russia and her East European satellites which had supplied armaments to the Jews in large quantity to establish the "State" of Israel. This was so because the Jews had a firm hold on the Communist parties of these countries and had powerful leaders in some of them.[20]

As far back as April 4, 1919, the London **Jewish Chronicle** had confessed as follows:

> "There is much in the fact of Bolshevism itself, in the fact that so many are Bolshevists, in the fact that the ideal of Bolshevism at many points are consonat with the ideals of Judaism."

Latter history of Jewry and Communism convincingly establishes the truth.

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[20] **Time, New York,** Dated 18.8.67.

The real race for influence in the Middle East between America and Russia, however, began in 1955. When America failed to float MEDO in the Middle East, it resorted to pressure politics by refusing to give promised aid for Aswan Dam. Refused to be brow-beaten into submission, Egypt turned towards the Soviet bloc for aid. Russia lost no time in announcing aid for Aswan Dam and also arranged sale of armaments for Egypt from East European countries. Then Russia declared support to Cairo against Israel and Anglo-French attack in 1956 on Sinai and the Suez. All this resulted in tremendous increase of Russian influence and an upsurge of bitter feeings against the USA and UK. Now the climate was very favourable for the Communists who stepped up their activities in Iraq, Syria, Jordan and Egypt. Though they failed in Jordan they succeeded in staging a coup in Iraq through Abdul Karim Qasim. Syria saved her skin by joining Egypt. Nasser, despite his good relations with the Socialist countries on international plane, was vigilant enough to keep the local Communists in their proper place. But after the Suez episode, Russia came to have a greater say in the internal affairs of Egypt. Now the Americans realised their folly and indiscretion and tried to make up with Egypt. The aid was resumed and continued till the beginning of 1967. It amounted to 2168 million dollars over these 10 years. America vainly tried for Arab-Israeli patch up several times to contain Russian influence over these years. That is why it started aiding Egypt

on the one hand and pampering Israel on the other. Similarly Russia was also sailing in both the boats. He too gave aid to the Arabs without straining his ties with Israel. Now Israel exploiting the presence of the UN forces, started unauthorised navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba, and this illegal act was endorsed by Russia also by signing the 1958 Pact.[21]

Then started a U.S.-Russian race for influence in which each of them gained upper hand in turns. But in 1962, after separation from Egypt, Syria came to be governed by a staunch pro-Russian group of the Baath Party. At the same time, Egypt, with Russian support, engineered a military coup in Yemen. Uptil now Indan Ocean was out of Russian reach, and its influence was limited to the Block Sea. But Russian hold on Yemen and through it on Aden and South Arabia was pregnant with far-reaching consequences. Moreover by training and fully equipping 20,000 troops, Russia pitched Somalia against the American military base in Ethiopia on the Eastern coast of Africa. Now the success of the Russian strategy meant nothing else but its hold on Indian Ocean and Far East and the vital oilfields of the Middle East.

Coming to the Yemeni front, Britain refused to recognise the new military regime. But

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[21] **Time Weekly, June 2, 1967.**

America, after some hesitation, did accord recognition, resumed diplomatic relations, and also announced aid, in the fond hope to bring new regime under its influence. But Imam Al Badr escaped upsetting the American apple cart. Then began a civil war in Yemen and still continues. Russia set up a submarine base at Hodidah in the Red Sea. Within the range of this base are Saudi Arabia and Sudan on one side and Ethiopia and the South Arabian Federation on the other. Russia already has its hold on Syria, Iraq and Egypt and controls Suez revenues while in Aden the most powerful liberation movement enjoyed the support of Russia.

To check the growing Russian influence, America again decided to stop aid (especially food) to Egypt only to make the situation more complicated. In 1965 Nasser signed Jeddah Protocol to make peace with King Faisal. But later on under Russian pressure repudiated the Protocol and refused to withdraw troops from Yemen. On the other side America and Britain were extremely alarmed at growing Russian influence. They decided to resort to some other means to force Egypt to withdraw its troops, knowing fully well that it will result in the immediate fall of the Sallal regime.

Local Factors

But in addition to the tug of war of the Big Powers there were local factors as well that paved

the way for the June War. Arabs are extremely adamant on the Palestine issue and they are in no way prepared to accept Israel. They looked in helplessly that each country was vociferous in raising slogans, but none came forward to take practical measures to liberate Palestine. They were also weary of the endless rivalries of the rulers. Thus came into being a guerilla force by the name of "ASSIFA" somewhere in Syria, These daring volunteers did substantial damage to Israel by their activities in the occupied area. Israel attacked a Jordanian village last year. But Jordan received no aid from any Arab country. On the contrary Egypt and Syria advised the Palestinians to overthrow King Hussein. Later on Israel turned its attention towards Syria, the base of the guerilla activity, and there began a series of border clashes and firings.

The Actual Plan

It was crystal clear that Israel had carefully planned an invasion of Syria. Russia was told by its Intelligence about the Israeli plan which was conveyed to Egypt and Syria along with an assurance of an all-out aid. Experts on Middle Eastern affairs are of the opinion that Western countries wanted to achieve two objects through Israeli invasion. (1) To strike terror in the hearts of the Arabs so that they many give up the idea of any armed action against Israel all, and (2) after the capture of Damascus force

Israel to withdraw its forces from the conquered area to earn the gratitude of the Arabs and regain their lost prestige and influence in the Middle East. Some Arab circles pointed out the dire fact that Nasser knew about Israel's plans from three or four authentic sources, but still he did not take any counter-measures. Surprise destruction of the Egyptian air force[22] and insufficient ammunition for the land forces is enough to prove that Nasser was cent per cent sure of Israeli attack not on Egypt but on Syria. According to these circles, Nasser believed that Israel will take over Damascus, before the Egyptian force will be able to reach to the help of Syria. On the other side, if King Hussein jumped into the fray he will be vanquished by the superior military strength of Israel, and in case of hesitation will be got rid of after being branded as a traitor. Then it would be convenient for Mr. Nasser to negotiate for the establishment of a Palestine State headed by Mr. Ahmad Shukairy. On the other side he was cock sure of seeking withdrawal of Israeli forces from Damascus to be known in history as "Liberator of Damascus".

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[22] The authors of **Six Day War** declare: "A team of Soviet instructors checking Egyptian airfields, found pilots who had not been airborne for days. Egypt's dumy planes were unconvincing; and their real ones were massed together where they would be easy targets." (p 48) ..

The stage had been set for war after the news of Israeli preparations for attack on Syria had become known. War became all the more certain when President Nasser proceeded to demand immediate recall of the UN Peace Force from the Israeli border and the Gulf of Aqaba and announced blockade of the Gulf. The UN Secretary-General. U. Thant lost no time in recalling UNEF from Ghaza that was replaced by 80,000 UAR troops on Israeli border. This hasty withdrawal of UN troops at the behest of Mr. Nasser is a very important cause of the war which is palpably indispensable. What was the real motive behind this step. Why did U. Thant overstepped his limits to take this step? This mystery is yet to be resolved.

Then there is another question which must needs be answered. Why did Mr. Nasser suddenly thought of raising the slogan of war against Israel, when, to speak the truth, he had stopped demanding its total extermination. He had time and again assured the Western Powers that only the resettlement of the Palestinian refugees is enough to end the Middle East crisis. Now what dire turn in the situation impelled Mr. Nasser to demand recall of UN troops, replace it with his own soldiers, and then start blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba. It is now clear beyond any shadow of doubt that Russia had forewarned about the impending Israeli attack and had also assured of all help to both Syria and Egypt in case of war. It appears that encouraged by the Russian

promise of an all out aid, Nasser must have thought here is an opportunity for him to become an undisputed leader of the Arab world and rehabilitate his lost prestage and have a duel with Israel.[23]. My Nasser had probably thought the Viet-Nam war would not allow the U.S.A. to take the risk of opening a new front in the Middle East. On the other hand, Israel would also avoid war in the presence of 80,000 Egyptian troops on the border. And in case of any armed encounter, the Egyptian force would surely defeat Israel. The Egyptian army was equipped with Russian arms, and had over 1000 tanks. Air fleet too was also ready. Above it all was the promise of more Russian aid. Probably all these factors combined to encourage Nasser to extend threat of war to Israel. The blockade of the straits of Teran was the first step towards the war.

Blockade of Teran was in fact a step to regain the right surrendered earlier by Nasser himself.[24] That is the reason why this action drew

[23] "On May 26, 1967 President Nasser, addressing the leaders of the Pan-Arab Federation of Trade Unions, said that if war came it will be total and the objective will be to destroy Israel, he fielt confident that we can win and are ready now for a war with Israel.... This time it will not be like 1956 because we were not fighting Israel at that time, but Britain and France." (**Six Day War, op. cit.**, p. 47)

[24] It will be interesting to note that in this speech Gemal Abdul Nasser had disclosed that he was ready to allow the Israeli ships to sail through Gulf of Aqaba provided they did not carry arms and ammunition.

support not only from the Arabs but also the Islamic world, Russia,[25] China and other Socialist countries also welcomed this gesture and announced that Teran was not an international route, but that of the Arabs. One good result of this action was that the Arab countries stopped hostile propaganda against one another. Shah Feisal, on tour of Europe those days, assured Egypt of his full moral and material support. King Hussein went a step further. He made a surprise visit to Cairo and concluded a defence pact with Nasser. This gesture of the King took the whole world, Israel included, by surprise. Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Dayan, in his Press conference on June 12, 1967 termed this gesture the most surprising event of the whole episode. The fact is that the King was confronted with a complicated situation. He knew it fully well that any Israeli attack on Syria or any other Arab State will be followed by Egyptian propaganda barrage against Jordan. At this critical hour King Hussein displayed a high degree of statesmanship and resourcefulness. Knowing fully well the disastrous consequences of war, he preferred to fight against Israel to obviate the possibility of an uprising in his country.

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[25] Russia had recognised it as an international route by signing a protocol in 1958. But with characteristic duplicity to bring about a confrontation it edged on Nasser to go ahead by assuring him of its full support.

Western Nations' Reactions

The blockade of Tiran alarmed the Western countries especially the U.S.A. and Britain. For America, it was a matter of the survival of Israel and a challenge to its own prestige and world surpremacy. America had declared in 1964 through its Middle East Ambassador's conference in Ankara that the River Jordan and the Gulf of Aqaba are not the property of the Arabs, but are internationalised routes. Earlier in 1958, America, in league with other maritime Powers, including Russia, had got an international treaty concluded in respect of the Gulf of Aqaba. But Britain was more concerned over the issue than America. Its Prime Minister made a dash for urgent consultations and then to meet Johnson, in Washington. Both the Powers announced use of force if the UAR did not end the blockade. Britain's chief concern was that the victory of the UAR will be of great international significance affecting Yemen, Aden, and the South Arabian Federation. Nasser had a 60,000 strong army stationed in Yemen, which is also a base of the Free Aden Government-in-exile headed by the Left-leaning leaders of the liberation movement. From here they were engineering disturbances in Aden doing lot of harm to the British. The British feared that if such a state of affairs was allowed to continue, they were sure to be replaced in Aden not by the men of their choice, but by pro-Nasser and pro-Russian elements to become eventually a threat to their

vested interests. Then Aden will become a base for the hostile elements to proceed towards the oil fields of Mascat, Dubai, Abu Dahabi, Qatar, and Kuwait.

In view of these apprehensions, the Anglo-Americans decided to check the increasing influence of Egypt and Russia and came out openly in support of Israel. Russia announced support to the Arabs in case of war. But a few days before the war, the Russian leaders had become very cautious in their commitments. Premier Kosygin qualified his support by saying that the extent of Anglo-U.S. involvement in the conflict will determine the extent of their intervention. As a token of his assurance for support, he announced despatch of its fleet from Black Sea to the Mediterranian just close to the U.S. Sixth Fleet.

The Arab felt very fortified by this latest Russian gesture, which they believed, would serve to immobilise the American Fleet and thus Israel will not take long to surrender before the united might of the Arabs. But the Russian fleet failed to influence the course of events as was to be expected.

Comparative Military Strength

In this third clash, after 1948 and 1956, Israel made Egypt, Syria and Jordan, the targets of her direct onslaught. Their combined strength was as follows:

	Army	Tanks	Planes
Egypt	3,10,000	1,200	550
Syria	1,15,000	600	130
Jordan	70,000	200	50
Israel	50,000 (within 48 hours, 2,35,000 reservists were in the battle-field)	1,000	400

Navy

Type	Israel	Egypt
Destroyes	3	7
Submarines	3*	12
Missile-Carriers	—	18
Anti Submarine craft	1	12
MTBs.	8	32

The table shows how much stronger were these three countries in men and arms than Israel.

World Support

President Nasser has no ground for complaint for lack of support from other Arab countries. Whatever a country possessed was at the disposal of Mr. Nasser. There was already a defence pact with Syria. King Hussein, laying aside past bitterness, proceeded to Cairo to offer all he possessed. King Faisal refused to exploit

*One submarine, the Rahaf, was unable to submerge and so was not operational.

the critical situation. Nor did he demand end of boming of his villages and withdrawal of Egyptian troops from Yemen. On the contrary, King Faisal, setting aside all differences, put himself at the disposal of Nasser. Then, Iraq, Sudan, Algeria declared war and dispatched their forces to join the war. President Bourguiba of Tunisia also did not lag behind in offering his services.

President Ayub and the Pakistani nation as one man assured moral as well as all out material support and enquired about the nature of support. All the three forces were alerted to dash to the support of their Arab brethren at the shortest notice. But Turkey left all other Muslim countries behind in displaying the magnificent traditional Islamic spirit. Time had no doubt healed the wounds of the first world war. But how to explain away the indefensible gesture of Mr. Nasser, who supplied arms to the bigoted Archbishop Makarios to massacre the Turks in Cyprus. And for years on end, Turkey had been the target of Cairo Radio's vicious propaganda campaigns. But ignoring all this, Turkey backed Egyptian stand on Aqaba. Without any hesitation it allowed the Russian Fleet to pass through the Dardanelles knowing fully well this permission will strain its ties with America. Then Turkey went one step forward to declare clearly that America, in case of involvement in this war, would not be allowed to use NATO bases on its soil. Similarly, Iran and Indonesia also announced their support.

Encounter

Originally, Israel had planned an attack on Syria. But now the situation had changed. Cairo-Amman defence pact had been signed. Blockade of Aqaba continued. 80,000 UAR troops were ready on Ghaza border. Arab countries were drawing near to each other. Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Sudan, Algeria and other Arab countries had declared all out support to Egypt. So Israel changed the strategy of war and decided to strike at the united strength of the Arabs. And on June 5, she launched land and air attacks on Egypt and Jordan simultaneously.

Surprise Attack

President Tito made a sensational disclosure after the war. He caimed to have been informed by Mr. Nasser before June 5 about the impending Israeli attack and his decision to strike first and destroy Israeli air strength. But what actually took place was that America and Russia stepped in and stopped Nasser from taking offensive. That is why Mr. Nasser accused America of deceit and treachery in his post-war speeches. America had earlier assured Mr. Nasser that Israel would not be allowed to go on war. Russia had also assured Mr. Nasser of its understanding with America on this point. In return Russia had assured the U.S.A. that she would not allow Nasser to take offensive. Mr. Nasser had got information from another source also. Polish

Embassy in Washington had also received the information 24 hours before the attack. The news was at once sent to the Russian Embassy. The Embassy again talked to the American Government and was again assured that Israel will not be allowed to attack. That satisfied both Egypt and Russia.

Moreover, King Feisal had wired to Nasser from Burssels, and Hussein from Amman, about the imminent Israeli attack on June 5. In these circumstances Mr. Nasser's claim he made in his resignation speech that it was a surprise attack can hardly stand scrutiny. Hence, after these so many disclosures, Mr. Nasser, in his July 23 speech had to confess that he knew of Israeli intentions before June 5 and also that its first target will be the Egyptian air force and that he had alerted the high army and air force officials. But what Mr. Nasser conveniently forgot to tell the world were the defensive measures he had taken in this respect? Why after receiving the information in time the planes were kept side by side making them an easy morsel for the invaders? Why there were no precautionary measures taken to minimise the losses?

The plea of surprise attack is meaningless from another aspect also. According to preliminary reports Israel and the UAR had 30,000 and 80,000 troops respectively on the border. After the blockade of Aqaba, evacuation of UN troops from Ghaza, and defence pacts with Syria and Jordan,

who can question the fact that Nasser was not fully prepared for a clash. Russian naval fleet was believed to be ready to check the U.S. Sixth Fleet. The air was thick with talk of war for the last two weeks and preparations had been fully made for war by both sides. If these are incontrovertible facts then any talk of "surprise attack" sounds meaningless on the face of it.

The war began with an Israeli air attack on the morning of June 5 and only within 91 hours Israel had won the day. In its first fell swoop, Israel destroyed 300 Egyptian, 60 Syrian and 30 Jordanian planes, all of them on the ground. No doubt, Jordanian land forces displayed exemplary courage and steadfastness, but who could stand upto the Napalm bombs without being reduced to ashes. The resistence given by the Syrian army was also heroic. One or two battles did take place in the Ghaza area and the Sinai Desert. The Egyptian army, however, surrendered most of the area without fighting. It was the first instance of the modern war that Israel captured nine Egyptian Generals on the very first day in addition to a large number of Egyptian tanks, missiles and other armaments in battle-ready condition. And Russia who was in a way instigator of the war, was now engaged alongwith America to get a ceasefire resolution passed in the Security Council. And by now Jordan had lost to Israel, Jerusalem and its surrounding area, Syria its border hills and other strategic points, and Egypt, the whole of Sinai

Desert. The Jewish forces had reached the eastern bank of the Suez and were in a position to capture it for all practical purposes. As there was no more power left to resist Israel, the three countries accepted the UN ceasefire order without any hesitation.

This was not a disaster for the Arab world only but a tragedy of highest magnitude for the Muslims as a whole. There ran a wave of insecurity and pessimism across the whole Muslim world. Both East and West were one in telling the Muslims: "You have fallen a prey to self-delusion. The cause of your abject defeat is your attachment to Islam." (In this connection, Time's article, "Arabia Decepta" and Russian Newsagency, Novotsy's comments are significant).

In these circumstances one feels called upon to analyse objectively and dispassionately the causes and factors that contributed to Arab debacle and bankruptcy of its leadership. (Islam was nowhere there to play its role in the war). Even a casual observer will arrive at a conclusion that Israeli victory was not an accident or a miracle, but was the direct consequence of the events and circumstances with which this area was afflicted over the past century.

The pre-war situation in the Middle East discussed in detail in earlier pages is enough to get an insight into the causes of the rout. Nevertheless there are some more points which are given below briefly.

Absence of Ideology

Egypt and Syria had been the strongholds of political and intellectual leadership for the whole Arabs in the recent past. There arose from Damascus and Cairo movements over the last one hundred years and made their impact on the whole Arab world. The Christian and other Western Orientalists through their own system of education created among the Arab youth a violent sense of nationalism and through their political machinations succeeded in pitching the Arabs against the Turkish Caliphate. But the nationalist movement which began with an ostensible aim of getting rid of the Turks, later assumed more intensity. This movement later underwent many ups and downs. Sheikh Hasanul Banna and his movement Muslim Brotherhood was there to give a crushing blow to enery obnoxious The Islamic revivalist movement of Sheikh Hasanul Banna of Egypt had reached Syria, Jordan, the Lebanon, Iraq and the Sudan. This organisation, by displaying exemplary courage and steadfastness during 1948 Palestinian war, made a great impact on the Arab youth who flocked towards it by the millions. This movement stood for a really stable unity of the Arab world. Because for it the basis of the Arab unity was (Islamic) Faith that was already embedded in every Arab heart. There is no wonder that this movement proved to be a potent challenge to the Western Imperialism and their vested interests in the Middle East. That is why the Ikhwan were

mercilessly crushed at the behest of the Western powers. The Chief Guide Hasan al-Banna was assassinated in a crowded bazaar and over 2000 workers were thrown into the jails. A large number of the victims were those who were engaged in the 1948 war and were arrested just from the theatre of war. A number of them were seriously wounded in the clashes. Then after the military coup, President Nasser launched a crippling attack on Ikhwan. And towards the end of 1954, six Ikhwan leaders were sent to the gallows and about 10,000 workers were thrown into jails.

Ikhwan al-Muslimoon was a grand movement for the revival of Islamic society. So banning it was not banning a mere political party. Hence its exit created a big political and intellectual vacuum in the country. But vacuums cannot endure long in the life of a nation. After forced departure of this ideological movement from the scene, the country was like a rudderless ship in choppy waters. The new military regime thought of filling this dangerous gap by going ahead with the resurgence of Pharaohic civilization. It gave rise to the slogan. "All Honours for Arabs." But even this slogan was raised not for some high aim but to glorify a certain personage about whom this hated saying was given currency: "That what could not be achieved by Muhammad (Peace be upon him) was achieved by Nasser".

Obviously this repulsive slogan could have no fascination for the devout Arab Muslims. They

looked on helplessly the game of musical chairs being played by the leaders of Arab nationalism. Not only this. These so-called leaders were most active in usurping the basic rights of the people and were killing their own Arab brethren. Their enemies watched with a sense of relief these so-called leaders indulging in mud-slinging and cutting each other's throats. Hecticly busy in their sports of mutual head-hunting, these nationalist leaders gave ample time to Israel to consolidate its gains, to develop its area, to train its youth and equip its army with the latest kind of armaments.

Slogan of Socialism

When the outcry of Arab nationalism was not found equal to the task, they were quick enough to import the slogan of Socialism, dubbed as Arab-Socialism to make it attractive. But in the name of socialism the rulers took over unlimited powers in the domain of politics and economy, without fulfilling the promise of social justice made to the people. Moreover, how could the secular Socialism attract the Arabs, as it was the invention of a Jew, their sworn enemy? Hence the present Arab leadership continues to subsist without any sublime aim, on merely hollow uninspiring slogans. Wars are always won on the basis and strength of an ideology. A nation weaned away from its cherished ideology ceases to tell the freedom from the slavery. To understand the role of the Arab leaders, the fact cannot be overlooked that even in the midst of furious

fighting they refused to call it "Jihad". President Nasser was repeatedly telling the Arabs that this was a nationalist war and has no relation to Islam. Maulana Abdul Haq of Jamia Islamia, Akora Khattak, Pakistan, was in the Middle East those days. In a letter he writer that he himself heard Cairo Radio repeating endlessly a message to the Egyptian Soldiers: [26]

"O, Killers: O fighters! Gamal (Nasser) is with you."

Hence whatever happened will not surprise any Muslim, who knows the fate of a battle which is fought not in the name of God Almighty but in the name of some Nasser.[27]

Daily Al-Ahram, dated June, 1, 1967, under the heading: "A Present of 1,60,000 pictures to the armed forces by film artists, Abdul Wahab, Halim, Najat and Chadia"—gives the following news:

> "The "SAUTUL FUN" INSTITUTE has offered its services for the armed forces for "boosting the morale of the soldiers," It

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[26] **Al Jamia,** Akora Khattak, Pakistan, August 1967, p. 43. Letter of Maulana Rahat Gul, from **Al Akhbar**

[27] This Cairo Radio message is enough to indicate the lines on which the moral and ideological upbringing of the Egyptian troops was done. All these singers of Egypt except Am Kulthoom, are Christians.

has decided to distribute among the soldiers 40,000 pictures of Actor Abdul Wahab, 40,000 pictures of Najat (actress) and the same number of Abdul Hakim. On these pictures will be printed message of greetings from these film artists.

"These pictures are being despatched tomorrow to our soldiers to the fronts."

The Commander-in-Chief, though he had been alerted by President Nasser, threw a dance-dinner party on the night of June 4-5, where drunken orgies and revelries continued till morning and they heard the bombing by the Israeli planes at their breakfast table!

Israel's Spying Network

The Arabs had lost sight of their own ideology. Under the impact of the Western materialistic way of life they had started living upto maxim: "Eat drink and be mary, for who knows the world may end tomorrow. This laxity in life made task of spying for Israel very easy among the rich upper class. The Jews have a network of espionage all over the world and use pretty young women and their wealth for this purpose. But the Arabs were naturally the focus of their attention. Their spies have infiltrated every field of life. Then the groundwork is done by the international

Freemason movement.[28] It enrols the important persons of all vital Government departments.[29] Turkey, among the Muslim countries, has been the biggest victim of the Freemasons, They are no less active in all the Arab countries. It is this very organisation, through which the Zionists manage to bring the persons of their own liking into power in any country. A study of **"The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion"** is enough to convince anybody that this ugly game in the Middle East is going on under the organised plan of the Jews. The Arab countries have become a hotbed of military coups. Only Syria has seen about twenty army coups. Iraq's condition is no better. Unsuccessful coup attempts are the order of the day in other Arab countries. The foreign powers exploit the ambitions of local cliques to come to power and bring about upheavals to keep the Arabs busy among themselves. These conspiracies come to light every third day. The latest revelation had totally exposed the cause of the Arab debacle. Recently it has come to light that the Egyptian Air Force Commander-in-Chief had a Jewish keep, who is believed to be the chief organiser of American

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[28] For details see: Faruqi, **op, cit.**

[29] Nasser, Abdul La'teef Baghdadi, Field Abdul Karim Amer, SABRI al Assaili, Anwarus Sadaat, Salah Salim, Hina Abu Rasheed, Ali Sabri, Mahmoud Fawzi and others are all members of Freemasonsy. (For details see: **Encyclopaedia Al-Masonia, Almusawwirah,** by Hina Abu Rasheed, page 317-218, printed in Beirut).

spying net-work.[30] Nobody could say how many Jews and their agents have infiltrated the highest echelon of the Arab society. How do they find their place in the front rank will be amply manifest by the following story.

Eliah Cohen, an Egyptian Jew, had been spying for Israel for quite a ong time. One day he was found out by the Egyptian secret service. But he forestalled arrest by disappearing and settled in Beirut as a Syrian trader by the name of Ameen Kamil Thabit. Then he proceeded to Brazil and developed contacts with General Aminul Hafiz, the then Military attache in the Syrian Embassy, Later he started financing the Baath Party through General Hafiz, parading himself as a devoted party man. On return to Damascus, Gen. Hafiz invited him to Damascus. He resumed aid to the party on a massive scale and developed intimate relations with the party high-ups by presenting their wives with all sorts of costly presents. Now he was among the top most trusted leaders of the party and was associated with all high-level consultations and decisions of the party about Syria and the Middle East as a whole. And

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[30] **Nawa-i-Waqt,** Lahore, dated September 23, 1967, reproduced from **Leader,** Karachi.

It is noteworthy that on June 5, while attacking Egyptian airfields, the Israeli pilots did not destroy a single dummy at any airport. This shows how accurate was the information about the position of Egyptian Aircraft.

at last a time came when he was going to be appointed Syria's Defence Minister.

Just then a top Egyptian military mission arrived in Damascus to examine the Syrian border situation and to chalk out a joint defence scheme. This would be Defence Minister was in the group-photo of the Egyptian military mission taken on the border and that was published in Cairo papers. To his ill-luck he was the only person in civilian dress and so attracted the notice of the secret service. On inquiry, they found their old fugitive, Eliah Cohen. He was arresed, tried and hanged. But the moot point is how freely this man had been spying for about twelve years. An Arab friend dolefully said: "who knows how many more Eliah Coben still lurk in our front ranks.'

Jews Control Communist Parties in Middle East

That the Jews have been in the forefront in organising the Communist movement in various countries, particularly the Middle East has also been amply demonstrated by Walter Z. Laqueur in his very informative study: **The Soviet Union and the Middle East,** (London, 1959). He has described through in brief what role the Jews played in organising Communist Parties in the Middle East countries, specially Egypt.

The Kremlin advisers and experts on Egypt "Avigdor" ('WEISS". Yeheil Kossoi), born in the Ukraine in 1892, joined the revolutionary

movement at an early age, and emigrated to the United States on the eve of World War I. In America he joined the "Jewish Legion" that was then organised, went to Palestine for a short time in 1918, stayed in Egypt and then returned to Russia. Avigdor was sent to Egypt twice, in 1922 and in 1924, "to organise or, to be precise, to 'bolshevise' the local Communist Party......His reputation as an authority on Egypt was established; he became a 'Red Professor' and was again sent, in 1932, to tour the Middle East and to inspect the local parties." (p. 82-83)

One of the most prolific writers and stubbor polimicists on Middle Eastern affairs in this period of Russia history was "Shami" (Iakov Tepper). Born in Russia, he emigrated to Belgium before World War I, where he joined the Jewish left wing Poale Zion party. "Shami" belonged to the party faction which joined communists, and was sent first to Palestine and then to Syria on behalf of the Comintern. (p 83)

"Nadab" (Nahum Leshchinskii) a Jew, specialised in Egyptian affairs in Moscow. In Palestine he joined the Communist Party and delegated to work in Egypt. (p. 84)

"Abusiam" (S. Averbukh) a Jew, was a frequent speaker at Comintern Congress under still another pseudonym "Haider". Like "Shami" he found his way to the Palestinian Communist Party of the Poale Zion. His reports on the situation in the

Middle East were apparently held in great esteem in Moscow and given wide publicity. (p. 85)

Y. Berger ("Barzilai"), another Comintern expert on Middle East affairs came to Moscow as a member of Palestine Communist Party. (p. 85)

Josef Rosenthal was the founder of the Socialist-Communist Party in Egypt. Avigdor had married the daughter of Josef Rosenthal. (p 83)

The Jewish element had captured the leadership of Palestinian Party and also infiltrated the Syrian and Egyptian Parties. (p. 115)

In 1958, there were three Jewish Communists in the Central Committee of at least one faction of the Communists i.e. the Peasants and Workers Group in Egypt (p. 355)

Internal Tussle

The other biggest cause of Arab defeat was internal conflict. The rulers and the ruled were heading towards opposite directions. Ignoring the aspirations and sentiments of the Islam-loving masses, their rulers wanted to force the bitter pills of Socialism, Nationalism and Westernisation down their throats. As there was no meeting point, so there was no foundation on which to build the edifice of unity and onenness. Syria was the scene of one such conflict for the whole world to see just one month before the war. One anti-Islam article of the Baath Party organ had the

whole country up in protest to the party government in power. There were week-long business strikes in most of the cities. Sheikh Mekhi al Kittani, President, Jamiaftul Ulama-i-Islam, Syria, Sheikh Hasan Hasabannaka, Sheikh Izuddin Rafai and other top most ulema were arrested, University teachers, students and traders were imprisoned and their properties were confiscated. In other words, while Israel was planning invasion of Syria, its rulers just at that time were at war with their own people.

In Egypt, the great Muslim thinker, Sayyid Qutb and his two companions were sent to the gallows in August, 1966. In addition to this about 50,000 persons, (800 women among them) were thrown into prisons. Many were confined in their homes. This macabre scene had also been enacted earlier in 1954. What took place in Iraq in 1958 is too well-known to be described here. On one side the Communists had gone on an orgy of bloodshed and destruction all over the country and on the other, the Kurds, reacting against the movement of Arab nationalism had started war of independence (Kurds are not Arabs, and Islam is the only cementing force for them). Thus Iraq also remained afflicted with internal dissensions for years. After the removal of the communists, the Baathists continued the favourite game of blood-letting and devastation. It needs no keen sense of perception to infer that how can a nation afford to fritter away its resources in suppressing its people and

internal dissentions and repulse any attack from outside at the same time.

Conflicts Among States

This was the internal situation in every state. But on top of it, their rulers had been always busy planning to cut each other's throat for the last 15 years. The fate of King Feisal of Iraq and Premier Nurie al Saeed and later of Abdul Karim Qasim is too well known to need any restating. The endless bickerings and the war of nerves unleashed by Mr. Nasser against King Hussein of Jordan, President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, former King Saud of Saudi Arabia and his successor, King Feisal, are still fresh in public memory. The bloody coup of Iraq was the consequence of such machinations. Abdul Karim Qasim met the same fate. One Prime Minister of Jordan was killed by a bomb attack. In 1961, Mr. Nasser charged King Hussein and King Saud[31] of engineering a split between Syria and Egypt. The direct Egypt-Saudi Arab confrontation in Yemen was perhaps the last straw on the camel's back. According to an estimate this war has taken an atrocious toll of more or less 3 million Arab lives (both Egyptians and Yemenis). Then began polarisation of ideologies in the Arab world with the launching of world Muslim unity movement by King Feisal.

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[31] Nasser has been lionising the same King Saud, using him against King Feisal and had taken from his huge sums of money in the name of loans.

At once came the answer from Mr. Nasser in the form of an effort to organise a Socialist front comprising Syria, Egypt, Iraq and Algeria. He started vilifying the Muslim unity movement openly and enjoyed in his mission the support of Premier Indira Gandhi of India, Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia and Premier Kosygin of Russia. President Nasser went to the extent of announcing that there could be no cooperation with such persons even on the issue of the liberation of Palestine.

Then in November 1966, when Israel attacked Jordan, President Nasser and his trusted man, Mr. Shukairy, incited the Palestinians to a revolt and had created problem for Hussein more serious than Israel itself. In fact their persistent machinations had made Jordan an easy morsel for Israel. And just a few days earlier than the June war, Mr. Shukairy had declared that King Hussein was a greater enemy than Israel and must be got rid of first.

How could, in these circumstances, Arab League meetings and the resolutions by its united Higher Committee could have any force. This state of affairs existed until a few days before the war started. On the very day, in the thick of the war, Cairo Radio resuming its hobby of vilifying others came out with a charge that American planes had flown to the help of Israel from the air fields of Libya and Dahran. And after about ten days, fighting was resumed in Yemen. Was victory over Israel possible in such circumstances?

Poor Technical Skill

But despite the perpetual bickerings and lack of unity of action and purpose, these rulers were in full control of their country's resources. There was no earthly reason to prevent them from turning these immense resources into a high class military might. Their inexcusable negligence in this respect can be guaged from the tragic fact that they could not even arrange for training their soldiers in the use of armaments that they had received from Russia. That is why the Egyptian troops had to flee, leaving a huge quantity of unused arms. At some places Israel found dumps of unpacked arms and also missiles, neither used nor even destroyed. (India is now trying to purchase these missiles from Israel.) And this was just a repetition of the 1956 situation, when Israel had similarly captured huge dumps of unused arms. The military experts who studied the 1956 war have a very poor opinion about the organisation and training of the Egyptian forces. This is probably the reason why 70,000 strong Egyptian troops could not overpower even the scattered tribes fighting under Imam al Badr. If all this is to be believed, then how could such an army stand against the highly-trained army of Israel. (The sense of discipline and organisation can be measured by one fact, that Israel could send to the battlefield additional 2,30,000 troops within 48 hours.)

In the war, Israeli air force attacked Jordan

and Egypt simultaneously and destroyed about 300 planes on the ground. It is said as an attenuating circumstance, that the Egyptians were taken by surprise as Israeli planes instead of going direct, flew across the Mediterannean and attacked from the West. But whether from East or West, how did it happen that the attack was not challenged in the presence of the radars. Why not some planes were kept airborne at all times by turn. A more glaring instance of negligence of duty and inefficiency is difficult to find in the modern history of warfare. Moreover, which military expert can explain away the "wisdom" of keeping in open rows the planes, while knowing that Israeli attack was just a matter of time. Now take the military communications. They were disrupted within a few hours of the beginning of the war and the instructions were being radioed from Cairo Radio to Ghaza and Sinai. The less said the better about the efficiency of an army whose communication system is so weak.

This situation as a whole in which the forces were kept uninformed and so annihilated betrays height of negligence and inefficiency or some deep-laid conspiracy. The capture of full nine Generals in one fell swoop and a large quantity of arms is an unprecedented event in the annals of war. According to post-war reports, hundreds of military officers, including Army and Air Force chiefs, were sacked. According to a Cairo newsletter of Mr. Mukhtar Zaman, a re-

presentative, of Press Trust of Pakistan the air was thick with the stories of treachery by scores of military officers. This gives rise to an appropriate question. Nasser's Intelligence service has a big nose for thousands of Ikhwan but no eye on the anti-national elements moving freely even among the front ranks.

Then there are some tell-tale events of the war which deserve close scrutiny.

Israel, it may be restated, launched on June 5 an air attack simultaneously on Egypt, Syria and Jordan. Its land forces attacked Egypt only and took no action against Syria and Jordan. Jordan's army, according to the mutual defence pact, was under the command of Egyptian C in-C. General Abdul Monem Riadh. On June 5, at 11 a.m., President Nasser, in the capacity of the Supreme Commander, ordered the Jordanian force to invade Israel and at the same time told them that Egyptian planes were bombing Tel Aviv and from there will proceed to cover them. (But in fact the Egyptian air force was already in ruins. Hence the Jordanian troops, under the orders of their Egyptian Commander, raided the Israeli held Jerusalem and seized Jabal-Mukabbar, Israel took no steps against Jordan that day.

Now a batch of Jordanian army was stationed at the strategic point of Jinen. This place is only nine miles from the Mediterannean Sea. An attack on June 5 upto the noon from this strategic place by the Jordanian troops would have cut Israel

into two, as its real military strength was on the Sinai Front. But General Riadh instead ordered them to march towards Jerusalem. And while the troops were on the way to Jerusalm, General Riadh ordered ceasefire.

Syria did not at all make a move on June 5. Even Cairo Radio's appeal to the Syrians on the morning of June 6 went over their heads. Here on the Sinai Front Egyptian tropps took to flight in the first Israeli attack and the Jews had to chase a fleeing army. Assured of Egyptian incapacity to launch a counter attack, Israel took military action against Jordan in Jerusalem. The same day General Riadh ordered ceasefire. Thus Israel occupied the western bank of the Jordan river without fighting. After this, Israel turned towards Syria and a battle ensued in Kuneitra. The main Syrian army was not on the front, but very much in Damascus to frustrate any attempt of the rival group to overthrow the ruling Baath clique. The front was manned by troops mostly belonging to the Reservists. There was no Alvi (Nusseri) General on the front. Nor was any Alvi soldier killed or wounded, as all of them were on duty in Damascus.

A close look at the tragic espisode will unfailingly drive one to an inevitable conclusion that planning of war on both sides was done by one single master-mind. And everything happened according to the plan and at its proper moment. But the most interesting event of the

whole episode is the allegedly tape-recorded dialogue between Nasser and Hussein on telephone, which was broadcast to the whole world by Israel. In his telephone talk, Nasser told Hussein that American planes flew to the help of Israel from the Sixth Fleet and thus actively took part in the war. Then Hussein enquired if Britain should also be implicated in this war in addition to America. In this record, relayed by Radio, President Nasser's voice was unmistakably clear, though Hussein's voice was low. In this way President Nasser tried to hold American and British interference responsible for his failure. But the charge was forcefully refuted by both the Powers. Moreover any interference by the two Western Powers would have at least created an uproar by Russia if not an armed action But Russia uttered not a word about it. Now at pains to restore relations with America, President Nasser is recently reported to have explained away his charge by saying that Israeli invasion from north-western side had led him to a misunderstanding, that those planes flew from the U.S. Sixth Fleet stationed in Mediterannean.[32]

Secret of Israel's Success

So much the causes of Arab debacle. Now let us proceed to size up the strength of the enemy and try to find out the real secret of its resounding success.

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[32] Daily **Star,** Beirut of 17.9.67 and **New York Times** of 16.9.67.

Emigrating from Palestine, a large number of Jews had settled in Russia, Holland, Germany, Britain and the East European countries, and also in the Muslim countries of Iraq, Morocco, Egypt, Turkey and Yemen. They were hated all over Europe, particularly in Russia, Polland and Germany .for their perpetual intrigues and machinations. The Christians there had made their lives miserable. On the contrary they had all the facilities and concessions in Muslim countries and were leading a comfortable life.

At last there reached a stage towards the end of the 19th century when these Jews were being hounded out of Russia and Poland. It was then that as a way out from this despicable state of home_lessness, Theodor Herzl gave the idea of a separate homeland for the Jews. Britain agreed to give them a part of Uganda in East Africa, but the offer was rejected by their leaders, who decided to make Palestine their homeland. In order to actualise this fantastic plan, Herzl founded a World Zionist organisation. This organisation convened a world Jewish Congress on August 29, 1897 in Switzerland. The Congress framed the following programme for action.

(1) In order to make Palestine a Jewish State the Organisation will try to help the Jews prosper in the fields of agriculture and industry according to a plan.

(2) Will set up organisations on regional and international levels to unite the Jews all over the world.

(3) Make special efforts to foster national outlook and consciousness among the Jews.

(4) Continue efforts for the establishment of a Jewish State.

Then from 1897 onwards till 1905, the Zionist leaders held a number of secret meetings for this purpose. But the tremendous success of their conventions encouraged them to get a step forward to determine the destiny of the world as a whole. In fact they had chalked out a plan for Jewish hold all over the globe. This plan has been leaked out and published under the title: **"The Protocol of the Learned Elders of Zion".**[33]

Palestine was a part of the Turkish Caliphate and a few thousand Jews were settled here. Herzl tried to tempt Sultan Abdul Hamid into giving Palestine over to the Jews. Besides other offers Herzl was prepared to pay off Turkey's massive debts. Then Sultan rejected these offers with the contempt they deserved saying your evil intentions cannot succeed as long as Caliphate exists."[34] But

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33 See, Faruqi, op. cit.

34 This too is a great tragedy in history the Turkish Caliphate came to an end at the hands of a man belonging to **Donmeh**, a section of the Jews who emigrated from Spain to Turkey.

the Zionist leader continued with their mission secretly and steadily. The rich Jews of America, Britain, and France heavily financed the settlement of Russian and Polish Jews in Palestine and their number reached 85,000 in 1914. Among the first settlers were Ben Gurion, Israel's first Prime Minister and Levi Eshkol, the present Premier.

During the first world war, the British continued to make Hussain, Shareef of Mecca, rise in revolt against the Turkish regime. The British promised to help the Arabs establish an independent State that will include Iraq. Syria and Palestine, in return for their help to Britain against the Turks. Taken in by the British promises, the Arabs rose in revolt against the Turks.

On the other hand, Britain had promised the Jews to make a homeland for them in Palestine. The British Foreign Minister, Mr. Arthur James Balfour gave this promise in writing to the Jews on behalf of his Government. This momentous decision was later on known by the name of the Balfour Declaration.

When the War was over, the Allies distributed the Arab lands France occupied Syria and Lebanon, and Palestine was occupied by the British. Shareef Hussain's son Faisal was made king of the newly formed state of Iraq. Shareef Hussein was recognised king of Hijaz and his second son Abdullah was crowned as King of Trans, Jordan. Thus in this way, five small states, instead of the promised one, came into existence after the war.

As the Jews were given tremendous facilities in Palestine, the European Jews more a such for this land. The Arabs raised voice in 1936 against Jewish excesses. In the disturbances that ensued, about 15000 Arabs were killed, 30000 injured and about one hundred thousand were thrown into prisons. The British published a White Paper promising independence to Palestine in ten years and the influx of Jews was restricted to 10,000 annually for five years. The Jews wanted to get this White Paper scrapped and for this purpose formed para-military organisations and started orgies of destruction and bloodshed. By now Hitler had launched his campaign to exterminate[35] the Jews. Millions of them were

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[35] Recently I had the opportunity to attend a World Islamic Conference in Amman on the issue of Palestine. Here the Grand Mufti, Aminul Husseini told the Conference that during the Second World War, he was invited by the German Government to visit an institution at Frankfurt. This institute was looking into the history of the Jews to find out the causes why they have never been faithful to any country they lived in and were a perpetual source of disruption and unrest everywhere. The Institute was also required to express its opinion whether this community can be amenable to reform, or if not possible then in what way they should be dealt with. About 70 experts in psychology, philosophy, sociology and political thought in relation to the Jewish history were busy in this institute. It collected after several years' efforts relevant material from all over the world and studied their schemes for conspiracies and plans carefully. During their exploration, they came

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persecuted, countless killed and the rest were forced to quite their homes.[36]

Now these uprooted Jews started settling in Palestine till in 1947 the total population reached 7,50,000. They were now one-third of the total population and had occupied most fertile and important areas of the country.

In 1945 the Jews again started preparing ground for Israeli State by means of their immense wealth. This time U.S. President Roosevelt played the role of go-between. He invited in 1945, King Abdul Aziz bin Abdur Rehman of Saudi Arabia to a rendezvous on warship in Bitter Lake in Suez canal Area and offered a massive amount of money in return for his support to the imposition of Israeli State on Palestine, and also to hand over

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upon a map secured from the renowned Jewish Rothschild family showing the area of their proposed Israeli State, extending from the Nile to the Euphrates and southern Turkey to Medina. But the conclusions arrived at by this Institute after so many years of intensive efforts did not add a bit to the observations and remarks made by the Holy Qur'an 1400 years, while issuing a charge sheet against them.

[36] Alfred M. Lilienthal, author of **"What Price Israel,"** has in his other book, **"The Other Side of the Coin"**, claimed that the Zionist leaders' hands are stained with the blood of German Jews. They wanted these Jews to be uprooted and seek refuge in Palestine so that their pitiable plight will soften the world opinion in favour of a separate homeland for them.

the northern Hedjas to the Jews. But the King like a strong Muslim, very contemptuously kicked away this despicable offer of Roosevelt.

(It may be kept in mind that the second world war had hit the Saudi economy very hard, because this was the lean period for Hajj, due to curbs on foreign travels.)

As the stipulated time of independence for Palestine was drawing near, Britain very cleverly passed on the issue to U.N. Here she sought the help of America and Russia to wriggle out of the commitment. Hence the Big Two conspired to get a resolution passed in U.N. to perform a surgical operation on Palestine. Much to the disgust of the Muslim world the they exploited the U.N. to dissect Palestine, to hand over its best portion to the Jews and the desert to the Arabs. Jerusalem was not to remain in the hands of the Arabs but was to be internationalised.

Stage was now set for the inauguration of the Jewish state of Israel. On international level both America and Russia were at the disposal of the Zionists and within every able-bodied Jew was fully armed with the weapons imported from Socialist countries. At last that fateful day arrived, when on May 14, 1948, Weizmann announced inauguration of the State of Israel as its first President. America has recognised this State even before its inauguration. But Russia too lost no time in recognising it. Britain did it after a few days.

The Arabs, however, refused to recognise its legal position.

Palestine at that time had .75 million Jews, but armed to the teenth and fully alert, and 14 million Arabs, but in deep sumber. Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia, in compliance with the Arab League resolution declared war on Israel, fought for eight months and were ultimately defeated. But they refused to recognise Israel inspite of the ceasefire. The victory encouraged Israel to occupy 77.40 per cent.of the area instead of 56.47 per cent given by the U.N. They also polished away the developed portion of Jerusalem, which was to be internationalised.

Israel's Development Plans

After the ceasefire, Israel initiated development plans for the area. The first item was general elections on the basis of proportional representation. About 15 parties took part in the elections but only four parties remained in the field, since all other parties could get votes below a prescribed number. As no party had a clear majority a coalition government under David Ben Gurion was formed. Thus free from internal tussle for power, the country went ahead fast on the road to development. The four biggest Powers of the world, America, Russia, Britain and France joined hands to transform it into a monster. Immense wealth of the world Jewry was streaming into the State. Best Jewish brains, engineers,

scientists and technicians converged into the State from all sides. Now its population was 27 million. Only American Jews have given it about 2500 million dollars aid so far. During the June war the Jews sent 90 million dollars aid to Israel, besides thousands of volunteers.[37]

Moreover, West Germany was forced to pay to Israel about 1000 million dollars as war damages. American aid comes upto 2000 million dollars. These countries also provided latest weapons to Israel. Israel made full use of these resources for the development of various areas. Coming from about 100 countries, these Jews overcame the barriers of language, culture and geography and made concerted efforts to become a united, organised and a powerful nation . They revived the dead Hebrew language and old religious traditions. By infusing religious spirit, their leaders created in every individual a sentiment to suffer for the sake of ideology.[38]

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[37] **Time Weekly,** June 16, 1967.

[38] Here are some examples to show what the Israelis are doing for the revival of their culture and civilization:

(i) The mission that was uppermost in the minds of Jews was the establishment of a Hebrew University in Jerusalem, which they did in 1924 in the midst of their efforts for creating the Israeli State. Here they not only gave a new life to a dead (Hebrew) language, but also used it as medium to produce architects for a state yet to come into existence.

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There was complete civil liberty and the basic needs of every individual were ensured. The rulers did not even for a moment think of taking away civil liberties despite being

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(ii) They reshaped the entire educational system on the basis of their religious traditions, and did not allow even slight diversion from their stand. Recently a law has been passed, making it a legal offence for a non-Jewish institution to admit a Jewish child. Premier Ben Gurion permitted an American secular institution to found a school and had the whole country in an uproar against him. Six ministers tendered resignations. Ben Gurion tried to calm down the furious people by telling them the disastrous consequences of such an attitude against their greatest benefactor. But they were not prepared to listen to any argument and ultimately Ben Gurion had to cancel the permission to put an end to the internal crisis.

(iii) SABATTH DAY (SATURDAY) is a total holiday all over Israel. Even buses do not ply on that day.

(iv) Customer cannot get meat and milk at the sametime from any hotel as it is taboo in Jewish law.

Now think of the rulers, of Muslim countries who are so ashamed of and indifferent to their own religious traditions. One example is given below: The Muslims of a certain country are worried over the Christian missionary activities in sowing doubts in the raw minds of the Muslim children about their religion. Not only that, conversions are also taking place. A certain person wanted to discuss this serious issue with the President of his country. The President expressed his inability to spare time and directed him to meet his Secretary. The Secretary told the gentleman that they could not stop the missionary activities without losing American aid. And this the country could not afford.

surrounded by those who were bent upon blowing this tiny state out of existence. General elections were held at regular fixed intervals. There was no ban on political parties. Transfer of power from one group to other was smooth and peaceful. That is the reason why Israel attained to the European standard of life within two decades only.

Then in 1956 Israel took one leap forward. She took advantage of the presence of the UNEF and began navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba quite illegally and started spreading its tentacles in East Africa and developed its trade with these countries. It helped the local governments by setting up various kinds of institutions there. Especially in Tanzania it organised a very good cooperative institution that helped the local people to take over export and import trade from the European and Asian businessmen. Thousands of Africans are studying in their universities. Last year, Premier Levy Eshkol did a very successful tour of these countries.

Over all this period, the whole nation was imbued with its religious doctrine and was marching forward shoulder to shoulder towards its predetermined goal. Here no citizen was sent to the gallows over a difference of opinion, not even sent to jail. Neither any of them was subjected to tortures nor declared enemy of the country or enemy's agent or a traitor. In short the differences of opinion were duly accommodated and nation

continued its march towards progress on the basis of mutual confidence.

Israel made startling material progress, created consciousness and devotion among the people to their ideology and goal, taught them to respect their traditions and thus created in them a sense of discipline and organisation of the highest order. These very qualities enabled Israel to bring its 230,000 reservists in the battlefield within 48 hours (Israel's regular army is only 70,000) and every one of them knew where to go and what to do.

A vivid ideology and its consciousness, spirit of sacrifice for that ideology, a life attuned to discpline and organisation, spirit of cooperation and mutual confidence—these were the real weapons that enable the tiny state of Israel to bring to naught the combined might of the Arabs. Moral force is the actual decisive factor in every conflict. And this is fact, though bitter, but undeniable, that the Arabs woefully lacked the conscousners of the motive force of an integrated life-giving ideology that inspires and prepares a nation for some high mission.

They do possess an ideology that is superme but they lac the realisation of its tremendous power.

Aftermath of War: Consequences

During my recent tour of Jordan, Lebanon, Kuwait, Iraq, the Saudi Arabia and the Sudan, I

had an opportunity to meet a cross-section of the people, rulers and the rule Ulema, traders, political leaders, and others and discuss with them their reactions. Though I could not go to Syria and Egypt, yet I was able to meet a large number of persons from these two States. Then I attended the Palestine Conference at the invitation of the Grand Mufti Alhaj Aminul Hussaini, and met representatives from all Muslim Countries, except Egypt and heard their views and reactions.

The fact is that a common Arab is very much perturbed and has lost peace of mind. The defeat was as sudden and total as it was decisive. For them it was a bolt from the blue. Crestfallen and heart broken, their stock questions are: Why at all this shameful rout? Didn't we have sufficient arms? Leave aside the airforce that was destroyed. But what about the land forces which were armed to the teeth. Why they could not resist even one Israeli attack. Some hold the Western Powers, particularly America, fully responsible for the debacle. Some point out Russian treachery at appropriate moment. The reaction of the Islam-loving elements can be aptly discribed in the words of King Hassan of Morocco. The King said: "Our defeat is the direct result of our actions. We had forgotten God and indulged in vices, and luxuries. Islam taught us to love each other, but we were pulling each other's legs. We were more of a problem for one another than for Israel." Barring a section comprising nationalists, socialists and their fellow travellers, King Hasan's view are

shared by every Arab. And though these views seem to have no immediate impact on their lives, the Arabs have started thinking on these lines.

Being leaders of the Arab world, reactions of Egyptians and Syrian rulers are very important. Below are given their reactions:

Egypt: After the debacle President Nasser submitted his resignation in a dramatic manner (which step was now too late) and then withdrew it[39] under so called popular pressure. This was followed immediately by the dismissal of the Vice-President and the Deputy Supreme Commander, Marshal Amer, Naval and air-force C-in-Cs, and hundreds of other officers. He held these officers responsible for the rout. So he made them scapegoat to divert public attention from himself. Mr. Nasser, no doubt, formally accepted whole responsibility for the defeat, but he did not point out and admitted his mistakes. On the contrary, he again called his nation the same Arab nationalism and Arab

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[39] Those present in Cairo on that day said that hundreds of thousands of people were on the Cairo streets urging Nasser to withdraw resignation. But they were mostly drawn from the countryside. It looked as if they had been brought to Cairo for this purpose. Later news about the use of special trains for this purpose confirmed this view. As soon as the resignation report was broadcast demonstrations were organised in the streets. Nasser had earlier staged such a drama in 1954, and it was recently confessed by him. (**Jung**, Karachi, November 13, 1967).

socialism. In a bid to further Russian line he tried to convince the people that socialism (and not Islam) is the panacea of all their ills and needs strengthening. He warned the people against the bourgeois and reactionary elements, still lurking in their ranks, particularly among the officers, and called for further strengthening the socialist elements in the country. (By reactionary elements, Mr. Nasser meant religious and Islam-loving youth.) At the same time, he tried to make the people believe that the Arab countries supplying oil to the West are also responsible for this debacle.

In this way, Mr. Nasser tried, successfully to some extent, to divert the people's attention from himself and the real causes of defeat to other Arab countries and irrelevant issues.

Now all the Arab socialist rulers under the leadership of Mr. Nasser, instead of taking an independent line, have given themselves over totally to Russia which now become a centre of their hopes and aspirations. They launched their diplomatic offensive under Russian leadership. Even the Russian conspiracy with America to fail the Emergency Session of the U.N. General Assembly did not disillusion the Arab Socialists.

Nor there is any sign of healthy change in internal policies. According to reports received from Cairo, not a single Ikhwan has been released

so far.[40] On the contrary about 70,000 more, mostly University students and teachers, have been rounded up raising the total arrested to about 1,20,000. According to a Beirut paper Cairo is as silent as a graveyard.[41] And now Mr. Nasser, exploiting fully the opportunity, has assumed still more powers. He is now President as well as Prime Minister of the country and also the President of the Arab Socialist Union. What a remarkable observatoin was of the editorial writer of a Karachi weekly, **Akhbar-e-Jahan:** "Think of poor Churchill who could not gain that much after winning a war, what President Nasser gained after losing it".

Adversity is a great teacher, but not for Mr. Nasser, who resumed his vilification campaign against Libya, Saudi Arabia and other oil-producing countries as soon as the war was over. Even during the war, eight Egyptian pilots stopped over at the Jeddah air port on their way to Cairo from Yemen. The Saudi Government not only treated them well but also saw them off with costly gifts knowing fully well that these pilots had been throwing poisonous gas in Yemen and Saudi Arabia on unarmed civilians. But when these pilots reached Cairo, they were used for the vilification campaign against Saudi Arabia.

The defeat, however, failed to make these socialist bigwigs realise the need for at least an

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[40] Report about release of one thousand Ikhwan was received later. But who knows?

[41] Daily **Star**, Beirut, September 16, 1967.

Arab if not Muslim, unity. They confined their confabulations to themselves, leaving out other Arab rulers while forming policies. If Khartoum was successful, the credit for it goes to Sudan's President Ismail Azhari, Premier Muhammad Mahjoub, King Hussein and King Feisal. But the fact that the Conference's decisions, especially about Yemen, is yet to be seen.

The Heads of all Islamic States went all out in support of the Arabs. The President of Pakistan assured all kind of material and moral support. It was Pakistan who kept the flag of Arab honour high in the U.N. sessions, and got resolutions about Jerusalem passed twice with great strenuous efforts. But there is no healthy change in the attitude of Mr. Nasser. He is still hobnobbing with India and both are drawing joint plans for producing armaments. On the Egyptian television are shown Indian films in which Kashmir is depicted to be a part of Bharat. Indonesia's new regime sides openly with Arabs, and did not recognise Israel. But the Indonesian envoy-designate is cooling his heels in Cairo for three months to present credentials. The Indonesian Government is very perturbed over this attitude.[42]

Syria:—There is no appreciable change in the attitude of the ruling Baath Party in Syria. It is being guided by Russia in framing their policies. It boycotted Khartoum talks also. This

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[42] **Daily Star, Beirut, September 3, 1967.**

Party issued a policy statement on 18th September. The statement declares: The Summit talks have totally failed to fulfil the expectations of the Arab peoples and this Conference has tried to tackle the basic issue in a wrong manner. For the solution of these basic issues the Party calls for welding the states of Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Algeria into a Socialist States as one unit. The revolutionary forces should continue fighting against the reactionary forces in Yemen. (The 3-Power Committee formed at Khartoum as a result of Sudan's efforts to settle the Yemeni tangle was condemned as undesirable.)

The Party also appealed to the Arab States to strengthen their ties with the Socialist countries and seek their support to fight against Israel and the Western Powers. This statement betrays change in Syria's foreign policy which led to the boycott of Khartoum Conference. Nor is there any sign of agreeable change in internal policies, except the release of some detenus out of the innumerable persons rounded up for lodging strong protests against the publication of sacrilegious article by the ruling Baath Party organ. The other Arab States are still in a slough of desponary in the absence of any clear programme of action. Some are banking on the Khartoum Conference, others looking towards the next UN session for some way out of the impasse. Except this I found no trace of positive, healthy and forward-looking line of thinking among the Arab leadership during my extensive tour.

The Arab leadership is split into two factions. On the one side is Egypt, Syria and Algeria proceeding headlong on the Socialist road. In Pakistan the same impression is about Iraq. But in my opinion, Iraqi Government's policy is totally different from all these three States and it cannot be counted with them.

These three countries are under the heel of military dictatorship. There is total absence of civil liberties and people's basic rights. Thousands of people are in prisons merely because of difference of opinion. Radio, Press, television and all media of communication and publicity are in Government control. They are busy in propagating socialism and Arab nationalism and presenting Islamic teachings in a distorted form and working against the Islam-loving elements. There is no sign of any healthy change in this policy.

Russia has its control not only on the foreign policies of these countries, but also provides guidance on internal matters. The situation has come to such a pass, that Egypt, according to a post-war news, has passed over all its military academies under the supervision of Russian experts'. And Russia is persistently trying to make the Egyptians believe that the presence of anti-socialist elements in the forces, especially the air force, is the real cause of the Arabs defeat. By implication, Russia wants the purging of all Islam-loving elements from the forces. (This work is

already in progress for quite a long time.) There are no two opinions among the international political observers that the war and the post-war policies of these countries will lead to tremendous increase of Russian influence in this area.

On the other side of the medal, Russia is not prepared to give up its earlier stand that Israel must stay. The Russian leaders have made this stand quite clear again in their post-war statement that they accept Israel's right to exist. Russia has already accepted the Israeli right of navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba by signing the 1958 protocol. Now after Glassbrow talks with President Johnson, Mr. Kosygin has agreed to put into the formula of forcing the Arabs to recognise Israel. It does not require any power of prescience to understand in what manner Russia will influence the policies of the Arab countries. One Russian gesture was a clear token of its intentions. Russian arms supply to the Arabs resumed after the war was suspended after the news that the Arabs were not prepared to make peace with Israel. Now Russian diplomatic machinations have been boiled down to one single aim. How to get Israel recognised by the Arabs. How to secure navigation right in the Suez for Israel. How to ensure Israel's security in the Middle East heartland in return for the sop of restoration of seized Arab areas. According to the Press reports, Messrs. Johnson and Kosygin have decided something like this at Glasbrow. Thus as far as the aims and designs are concerned, Russian support is not different in nature from open American

hostile attitude. This impelled a Beirut paper to come out with a remark: There is no need for a desire to have enemies in the presence of such "friends". Below is given a brief analysis of the Russian role in the Middle East:

(i) Russia was the co-sponsor of the UN resolution for the imposition of the State of Israel on Arabs.

(ii)) Russia was the second country, who not only recognised Israel within a few hours of its existence but also established diplomatic relations with it.

(iii) Russia in league with America, Britain and other maritime nations signed 1958 protocol giving navigation rights to Israel in the Gulf of Aqaba.

. (iv) Russia played the role of a detached and neutral spectator in recent war and had already assured America of his decision not to take any military action. Assurances on "hot-line" are will known.

(v) When after the war the Arab countries stopped oil supply to America, Britain and West Germany, Soviet Russia steppped in to fill up the gap and at once offered oil to Britain.

(vi) Russia, after the war, broke diplomatic relations with Israel, but trade, and oil supply still continues.

(vii) Inspite of its grandiose declarations, Russia toes American line on every UN resolution on the Palestine issue.

Immediate Problem and the Way Out

The position now is that Israeli forces controls all the area from the western bank of the River Jordan to the Easern bank of Suez and also a sizeable portion of Syria. Suez Canal is closed. Israel is doing navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba. It is not only in possession of Bait al Muqaddas but has also indicated its evil intention to demolish Masjid al-Aqsa and start constructing Haikal-e Sulemani (Solomons Temple.) Millions of uprooted refugees are rotting in the camps. One shudders to think of their plight during the winter. No words are enough to describe their miseries. On top of everything is the total collapse of the financial condition of Egypt and Jordan.. Hamstring by these colossal problems, the Arabs have to strive to regain the lost territories. Efforts are going on with this aim in view. Most significant of them being that of Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia. His proposals are:

(i) Let all troops return to June 4, 1967 border.

(ii) The Security Council or the Big-four powers (America, Britain, France and Russia) must ensure protection of the frontiers till final settlement on international level, and if need be post UN troops along the frontiers.

(iii) Israel must have right of navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba unles the International Court decides otherwise.

(iv) Suez navigation position must remain as it was before June. (Israeli ships could not pass).

(v) When all the four above-mentioned proposals are enforced satisfactorily, then the Security Council should go ahead to get the remaining problems solved, through direct negotiations between the combatants. Some of these problems are: return of Palestine refugees to Israel or any satisfactory decision about their properties and Israel's right to navigate in the Suez Canal.

Marshal Tito's proposals are probably to become the basis of any future negotiations. Reactions to these proposals so far available are as follows:

(i) Israel has flatly rejected. the proposals and insists on direct talks with Arabs on any issue. Moreover it wants to talk every Arab country individually and not collectively.

(ii) America has improved upon it. It wants that any talks must be preceded by a declaration by the Arabs to end the state of war with Israel and also their decision to recognise its existence.

(iii) Arab countries, especially Egypt and Jordan, are very keen for an improvement in the current situation and are prepared to discuss certain matters with Israel through big Powers. But what they find themselves unable to accept is the existence of Israel and any direct talk with it. To be sure, they simply cannot afford it. Can the United Nations decided anything under such circumstances. Apparently it seems a difficult job. And perhaps this state of affairs will continue for quite a long time.

One thing that must be clear to everybody without any shadow of doubt that Israel is the last state to have any urge for peace, for peace means undoing its expansionist designs. Then how on earth will it be possible for the Zionists to extend their frontiers upto the Nile and Euphrates, Southern Turkey and Medina? If at all Israel is talking of negotiations, it is simply to throw dust in the eyes of the world. The Zionists know full well that the Arabs will never accept their terms for peace. Hence their peace overtunes will put the Arabs in a false position. In fact this state of tension suits Israel, if it does not flare up into another war. And truly speaking, the Arabs at present are unable even to think of war. Hence Israel is sure for the success of its plans which she supposes will be fulfilled without any effort. Flush-by its roaring success, Israel has started inviting

Jews from the United States and Europe to come invest and develop the occupied areas. In this way Israel will become a big mercantile base and trade centre for America and Europe and its trade with Africa and Far East will also be promoted.

Just to deceive the world opinion, Israel may also try to form a puppet regime in the occupied area by the name of the State of Palestine, giving some internal autonomy to the Arabs there. If Israel succeeds in his machination, through the cooperation of some Arab traitors, it will be able to reassure the world opinion that Palestine issue has been settled amicably, and the Arab Sates' hostility is baseless and devoid of any reason. Israel and the world Zionist movement have a firm hold on most of the propaganda agencies of the world. That is why it is very easy for them to befool the world. But on the other said Arabs have no such means. Nor did they ever try seriously to tell the world their own ease.

Now the question arises who can pull the Arabs out of the present crisis. Their leadership raised on the edifice of nationalism, socialism and só-called progressivism was tested and found woefully wanting. It stands defeated and has lost all capacity to face the crisis. It is now unable to lift the Arabs out of the morass and lead them to victory and success. This is a great mission which only a sincere, devoted, universal Islamic revolutionary movement can achieve. Happily Islam still rules over the hearts of the Arab people.

Inspite of the persistent efforts on all sides to wean them away from Islam, they have as deep a faith in their religion as the people in other parts of the world have. After all the blood of the great martyrs of Islam, Sheikh Hasan al-Banna, Syed Qutb and other Ikhwan leaders has not gone waste. Today in the Middle East there are millions of young Ikhwan who keep aloft the banner of Islam. They are the gems and the cream of the Muslim nation. It is they whom America, Britain, Israel Russia and their stooges have been trying their level best to exterminate. In fact these western powers were at the back of the repeated onslaughts on this movement in some socialist Arab countries over the last 20 years. But every time this movement was crushed, it came out of the ordeal with flying colours. It emerged still stronger and more organised after every trial.

There were the Ikhwan who bore the brunt of the Jewish attack in 1948. These were the Ikhwan whose guerilla activities forced Britain to remove its 80,000 troops in 1954, in 1956 also, the Ikhwan, though suppressed by the Government, were strong enough to join the war against Israel. This great force is even today enough to meet the combined challenge of Israel and western powers. It has deep roots in every corner of the Arab world. They are the repository of the life giving soul-stiring and elevating message that only can pull the Arab world out of the ideological and political quagmire and again put them on the high pedestal of world leadership. If the June war succeeds in

creating among the Arab leadership a consciousness and a feeling that their salvation lies neither in Arab nationalism, nor socialism but Islam and only Islam, then, to speak the truth, this debacle will turn out to be a boon in disguise. The need of the hour in the Arab world is Islamic movement. The Arab leadership should not lose sight of the fact the issue of Israel and the seizure of Bait al-Muquddas are not just the Arab issues. In fact they are Islamic issues that is why the whole Muslim world has been deeply perturbed over the defeat of the Arabs. Had it been merely an Arab issue, Turkey, intensely offended by Mr. Nasser over Cyprus, would have been the last country to come to the help of Arabs. Why should Pakistan, Iran and other Muslim countries have gone all out in support of the Arabs to the displeasing not only of Israel but also of its western benefactors. Why India and Yugoslavia, so close to Mr. Nasser, adopted the policy of pleasing both sides. Take the case of Pakistan. Here except the civil defence activities, buzzing of planes, movement of troops there has been no difference at all between Pakistan reaction during the September 1965 war with India and the June 1967 war with Israel. The same crowding of the people before radios, the same anxious inquiries, the same whoops of delight over any news of Arab advance. But no words are enough to describe the plight of the people after hearing the stunning news of the Israeli victory. It should have been seen to be imagined. The whole country presented the spectacle of a grave yard. Many people

had lost appetite. There were numerous cases of nervous breakdown. All functions and festivities were cancelled. In short the whole nation was in mourning. How could the defeat of the Arabs—a mere territional entity, could shake another people in such a manner? It was only the bond of common faith that aroused the whole Muslim world from one end to the other.

The second aspect which our Arab nationalist rulers must keep in mind is that they are not up against the tiny State of Israel, but against the solid strength of the cultire non-Muslim world. They will have to amass more and more strength, from whatever source they can. And where from the Arabs can get unqualified support except from the Muslim countries over the issues that are an article of faith for the entire Ummah. But the trouble is that Aarb natiοnalism and socialism can have no appeal for the world of Islam. Only a movement based on Islamic ideology can rally them on the side of Arabs to liberate Palestine once for all.

APPENDIX

How to meet the situation?

—by Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi.

The consequences of the four-day war between Israel and the Arab states are too disastrous to enumerate. They should open the eyes not only of the Arabs but of the entire Muslim world, provided we have not lost all capacity to learn from the experiences and are not totally deprived of conscience and feelings. During this war, even if we do not take into account the countries that could not come to help in time, not less than six Arab states had directly deployed their full military might against a common enemy. But Israel brought them down within four days. Whole of Gaza strip and Sinai peninsula was gone. The remaining portions of the Palestine territory including the old city of Jerusalem that had been saved as part of Jordan in 1949, were run over. Syrian army, which could push only ten miles into Israel was thrown back beyond Israeli boundaries, and to day not even an inch of Israel is within the possession of the Arabs. Israel now wants to re-carve the political map of the Middle East according to its own wishes, and is adamant to keep control over all the conquered territory including Jerusalem. It is indeed a most painful situation. But the question arises: why it all happened and how? And this will also provide answer to the perplexing question what now is the remedy! If we do not want to remain blind to the facts and have not decided to court our doom, we must endeavour to probe into the situation, and try to understand the forces and currents and under-currents at work in a most objective and analytical manner.

Illegitimate Israel

The very existence of Israel is a continued aggression against the Arabs. During the later part of the 19th century, the Zionist movement was started whose very basis was the notion that the territories from which the Jews had been expelled by the Romans 2000 years ago should be recaptured through whatever means possible. Although their immediate target was Palestine, but they never made a secret of their ultimate objective to annex all the Muslim lands stretching from the Nile upto the Euphrates, and from the northern regions of the territory of Hedjaz and Najd (including the Holy City of Madina) upto the northern most regions of Syria, and to make room and settle here the Jewish tribe scattered all over the world. In 1948, the regions of Palestine that were forcibly declared as the state of Israel were in fact meant to serve as just a foothold for future onslaughts. The Zionist leaders had no doubt about it in their minds and they never intended their newly acquired state to remain confined to its first territorial markings. They had very clear expantionist aims when they started, and they are busy even right now to achieve their set goal. The state of Israel is a sort of springboard to realize their dream of Greater Israel that includes Nile delta region of Egypt, northern part of Saudi Arabia including Medina, the whole of Jordan, Syria and Lebanon, southern regions of Turkey and greater part of Iraq.

In my considered view, the Jews do not aim at only enslaving the Muslims in the areas they plan to conquer, their objective is to eliminate them or push them out of these territories in order to make room for the settlement of the Jews scattered all over the globe. Their efforts were crowned with success for the first time when in 1948 vast regions of Palestine were occupied by them and a Jewish state was established. And now after eighteen years they are successful for the second time and now they are able to annex the rest of Palestine and the Senai Peninsula. But this is just a second step. The weaknesses and shortcomings of the Arabs and the Muslims as manifested in this four-day war are a pointer towards the grimness of the situation, it does not require much foresight to visualise how impatient the enemy must be and it should not be difficult to comprehend Israel's future course of action.

Attitude of World Powers

The attitude adopted by the Western nations with regard to the movement of Zionism is rooted into three basic factors which it is very essential to make note of.

First, it is imbued with the spirit of the Crusades and that is why it has stirred the Western peoples from Sweden and Denmark to Canada and all have been aligned on the side of Israel and they are united much on the lines and scale of the wars fought in the Middle Ages.

Second, in this matter the Western nations have stooped down to the lowest depth of moral depravity and exhibited shamelessness, selfishness and callousness of the extreme sort. In the First World War the British declared to turn Palestine as the homeland of Jews, as a recompense of their services against Germany. Was it not tantamount to paying them for their services from somebody else's packet? Rewarding Jews for services rendered to the British by robbing and killing Arabs and occupying their hearths and homes—a feet of moral bankruptsy in which none else could compete them! Then after the Second World War, a novel method was juggled up to rehabilitate the jews who were spared the atrocities committed by Hitler and had escaped from the Nazi pogroms and had take refuge in other lands. They planned to uproot the Arabs who had been living there since centuries in order to settle down the jews. In other words, the tyranny perpetrated by a tyrant was sought to be rectified by inflicting injury and tyranny on other innocent people. They could have been provided land in Australia, Canada, America, Argentina, Brazil and many other countries where millions of square miles of rich land is available. Was there really no alternative but to uproot and drive away about a million Arabs from their hearths and homes in order to provide for the displaced Jews?

Third, Jewish domination specially over Americans is so complete that they seem to be possessed. Jewish nation is in firm control of the

American Press, News Agencies, economy and finance. In the political life, the Jewish vote is overwhelmingly decisive that everyone from the Presidential candidate to the members of American Congress look upto the Jews for success at the polls. This being the situation America will be prepared to sacrifice every Arab and all the Muslims of the world for the pleasure of the Jews without any qualm of conscience.

These are the reasons why since the very beginning this newly-foisted state has been supported and made powerful by all the Western nations particularly, America, Britain and France. On the one hand, the world Jewry made fabulous financial grants to Israel which according to an estimate exceeds $10,000,000,000, on the other hand, West Germany was made to cough up $800 million as raparations to Israel. Yet again, America injected $800 million into Israel's economy under the aid programmes. Furthermore, the three major Western powers, America, Britain and France, collaborated and poured in so much military hardware and latest scientific and technological aid that she became powerful enough to defeat the combined strength of the Arabs. Israel's population is less than three million while the Arabs in the surrounding states are 50 millions. Despite such a numerical superiority, the consequences of the four-day war are before us and they go to show conclusively that the Western powers had armed this state to the teeth in the last 19 years. How Western powers have been helping Israel to become

a great military power can be assessed if we just compare the recent war with that fought in 1948. Immediately on the establishment of Israel in May 1948, Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria had fought against her for full eight months and during this period the Jews snatched only 8000 sq. miles of Palestine. But after 19 years, Israel vanquished the combined Arab forces just within four days and captured an area of 24,000 square miles, that includes whole of Sinai, Gaza strip, and the rest of Palestine. This in itself provides the testimony that the Western nations have given Israel unlimited military aid, and this has been done deliberately according to a well thought-out plan in order to make her able to defeat the combined force of the Arab countries. The thinly veiled plot was stripped in the open, when the British and American aircraft carriers etc. arrived in the Mediterranean and Red Sea to hold the Arabs by the throat. While the Israelis were employing their total airforce in murderous attacks on Arab armies and civilian population, they stood to provide an air umbrella over Israel against any Arab retaliation.

Israel

Among the factors that contributed to the success of Israel, its pace of internal development shorn by any domestic strife, yielded in no small measure to its growth in the fields of economy and defence. No revolt or revolution took place there. No political party aimed at the destruction

or the elimination of any other political party. In Israel, no dictator ever emerged as the self-appointed arbiter of that nation's destiny. Nobody ever accused anybody of being a traitor or an agent in the pay of Arabs. The Jews hailing from a hundred different lands had come to settle there. They spoke as many different languages and believed in varied customs, manners, traditions and rituals and cultural characteristics. They had nothing in common except their faith in Judaism, and in this matter also they were divided into various groups and sects. Politically too, they belonged to various political parties pursuing different policies and programmes and the same was true in the field of economic interests—there was clash of views and they had rivalries. But despite all they had been all along running a democratic platform in an atmosphere of collective harmony. A wide-awake electorate drawn from adult franchise changed one government to another as the needs and requirements of the hour demanded, without provoking an internal upheaval or recourse to any undemocratic tactics and methods and no foreign influences were allowed to interfere in the choice of the majority party to lead the Government. In 1965, Ben-Gurion, a leader of repute and enjoying popular esteem for quite a long time was defeated in the general elections by the present premier Eshkol and power was transferred to newly-elected representatives of the people without the slightest hindrance. Immediately before the war, Eshkol invited other political parties and formed a united national cabinet and appointed

General Moshe Dayan as Minister of Defence, although the later is his political rival and is the top-leader of the opposition headed by Ben-Gurion and has been a bitter critic of Eshkol's policies. Under this highly congenial, peaceful and cooperative atmosphere, Israelis made rapid strides in the field of industry, agriculture and commerce and within the short span of two decades pushed up the country to ever-rising heights in prosperity and well-being and came at par with European standard of living. It developed its economic and political relation with Asian and African countries and made her influence felt in these regions. Indeed Israel has—taken so long and rapid strides that she has created influence over the world opinion not only for herself but for the entire Jewish nation.

The Arab Scene

On the other hand whatever has been happening all this while at our side only begs description. Repeated revolutions have toppled one government after another in various Arab countries. They have been cutting throats of their own brethren and their power and energy has been wasted to pull down each others legs. They seldom hesitated to topple the governments of the neighbouring countries if any opportunity presented for it. They used the dirtiest language and adopted the meanest course to malign and abuse others through poisonous propaganda and vicious broadcasts. The whole world has been watching this spectacle. While the enemies have been laughing and ridicul-

ing them, their Muslim brethren friends and sympathisers have been shedding tears of blood. The worst aspect of this sorry spectacle has been that when the enemy having done away with internal bickerings and differences was rallying to the call of unity and Judaism and Zionist ideology, **and at a time when the forces of world Christendom were absolving the Jews of all allegations of deicide and were assuring them all support and cooperation to them,** the Arabs were busy fighting against each other in the worst of conflicts in their history: in some Arab countries the very basis of their faith, creed and ideology have been challenged and a brother has been arrayed against his brother. And this campaign did not stop even in the face of the danger of the attack of Israel. This barrage of calumny and abuse did not stop even when the enemy was at their gates. Only a few days before the recent conflagration, Arab countries seemed to form a sort of alliance between themselves but how far this alliance could be effective was a matter for every body to guess. How tragic is the fact that till the very last hour the necessity for joint consultation by the Arab rulers was not felt so that they could chalk up joint plans to utilize their combined forces.

The Western Powers since as far back as 1955 had disappointed the Arabs that they could ever hope to get arms and ammunition from them to build their military strength. If, however, some arms were given to certain Arab countries by America, Britain and France, they were in very limited quantity and given grudgingly. In these

circumstances most of the Arab countries were left with no choice but to look to U.S.S.R. and other Communist countries for their needs of military equipment. Besides it was USSR whose intervention in the Suez affair in 1956 provided relief from the combined attack of Britain, France and Israel. These were the circumstances that provided impetus for the spread of socialism and at the same time Arabs began to lean more towards USSR. In the recent war the Arabs were quite confident of Russian support in case Israel was backed by Britain and America and they were quite sure that the fear of Russian intervention would keep the Western powers from coming to the aid of Israel, and that in a straight clash between the Arabs and Israelis, they would very easily bring the enemy to its knees. But all these estimates of the Arabs were wrong and the consequences of the war have now actually proved that they were absolutely wrong. Those who try to keep eye on the world affairs realize full well that since Russian backslide in the Cuban affair, she has lost all face and its real strength and power has been exposed, and this is now a foregone conclusion that USSR will fall back on every occasion where USA would show determination for the showdown.. The Arab statesmen were under the delusion that the situation was still the same that existed in 1956. In fact the conditions had in the existed in 1956. In fact the conditions had in the meantime undergone a total change. Events themselves have shown that while America and Britain openly side with Israel, USSR was keep-

ing herself at a safe distance confined herself to just administering hollow warnings and fake threats while fully in league with the Western powers "on hot-lines" behind the scenes. Indeed USSR brought forth before the Security Council a resolution which was in the best interests of Israel as against Arabs.

The Cementing Force

Since long the Arab leadership is being continuously warned that just Arab nationalism can not meet the challenge they are faced with. For it the united strength of the entire Muslim millat is required. The Palestine issue is after all not the issue of the Arabs alone: indeed, it is the common problem of the whole Muslim world. If the Arab states shall insist on their separate identity to the exclusion of the rest of the Muslim world, and then permit among their own ranks discriminations and strifes and align themselves either to the Western or Eastern power bloc, obviously the consequences must be too disastrous. But unfortunately they never gave serious consideration to it, and many of them have desisted and even opposed outright the concept of Muslim unity on the firm and abiding foundation of our common faith. On the contrary, the Arabs in themselves broke up into socialist and non-socialist, progressive and reactionary, revolutionary and non-revolutionary groups and factions, and thus did not allow to develop even a united Arab power.

There have been three main pillars on which they have so far been resting the foundations of their edifice: (1) Arab nationalism, (2) the socialist philosophy, (3) reliance on the USSR and socialist countries. And the recent war has demolished them all totally, and now only those who cannot learn any lesson from the past experiences would like to base their policy once again on the same old props. Not much is lost if they yet grasp the simple truth that the solution of all their ills lies in holding fast to Islam, and that their true friends and sympathisers can be Muslims alone, and instead of reliance on others they should submit to God and turn the whole Islamic world to be a force and power.

What Now!

At the moment the immediate problem that faces us is that how to deal with the situation now arising out of the success achieved by Israel and the dangers that confront the Muslims. Israel has occupied the old city of Jerusalem and is openly proclaiming that this city which could not boast of a single Jew before this war will now form a permanent part of the Zionist state as it has been conquered by dint of arms. Israel has occupied the Arab areas of Palestine having a Muslim population of over one milion without there being a single Jew amidst them. Israel is now enaged in killing and turning the Muslims out to make room for the settlement of Jews. Israel's

Prime Minister, its Foreign and Defence Minister are boasting that they will never relinquish the areas they have conquered. In other words Israel wants to reintroduce the dictim of might is right: that a conquering nation could keep the territories on the basis of its right of conquest. Although this sinister claim of Israel is a flagrant disregard of the UN Charter, yet America and Britain are completely tongue-tied in this respect. If Israel is allowed to succeed in its nefarious objective the matter would not end with Palestine and Sinai, but the Zionist may think of further advances into the territories of Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the same rule would be claimed to be applied there; all areas conquered by force of arms would be absorbed in the name of Israeli Reich, and as I have already pointed out, it would not be an act of simple occupation of non-Jewish territory, but that Israel would go to the extent of annihilating the native population or it would throw them out of their own land and instead turning in the "wailing" Jews from all corners of the globe.

The call of the hour is that the entire Muslim world should join hands with the Arabs in complete unity and full determination. They should also seek support from all men of justice from all over the world for the acceptance of the principle that no nation can subjugate another country, nor a naion can force territorial changes through war. We must forge a united front in this regard otherwise the consequence may be too terrible to imagine. **If the Muslim states will ignore the Jewish**

threat at this stage, disasters may follow in future.

Wisdom requires that we must not confine our vision in seeking the solution of the problems that are of common concern. But at the same time, we must also adopt a firm line of action for the future. We must evolve a comprehensive plan to mitigate the far-reaching consequences of this defeat and do away with the basic factors that were responsible for our humiliation. This war may be termed by someone as only an Arab Israeli war, and the defeat suffered by the Arabs may be called just their defeat, **but the fact remains that this has inflicted in calculable damage to the prestige, honour and security of all the Muslim peoples in the world. The Zionist occupation of the old city of Jerusalem and the dangerous designs to demolish Masjid-e-Aqsa and erect in its place the Solomon's Temple, is not a catastrophe confined to Arabs alone. It is a grievous wound for every Muslim's heart, for the sacred city of Jerusalem does not belong to Arabs alone, all Muslims venerate it as their first Kibla.** Further, we should realize that the expanisionist aggressive designs of **world Jewry may pose a threat to the holy cities of Mecca Medina too.** This is a most serious question, the greatest danger not just for Arabs alone but a situation that is intolerable for the Muslims of the whole world. It is therefore high time that all the Muslim Governments of the world make it their direct concern and face the Israeli problem as something vital for everyone of them.

It is a matter of regret that the votaries of Arab nationalism have all along been treating this issue as a purely Arab problem and to which only they were concerned. And the non-Arab Muslims too remained complacent believing that the Arabs could face the issue in a suitable way. **But now the recent events have conclusively demonstrated that they have totally failed in this respect and the tragic consequences of their defeat have not remained confined just to them alone but the Muslims all over the world have suffered. There is therefore no reason why this issue should any longer be left in the hands of the Arabs alone and let the non-Arab Muslim world be confronted with the more disastrous conseque, God forbid, of a third defeat.**

A Joint Responsibility

I am of the view that for this purpose first of all the non-Arab Muslim states should through mutual consultations arrive at a conclusion whether they are all prepared to face the issue in all seriousness and instead of a superficial interest in it they want to pursue it with all the devotion and vigour demanding by it. The next move should be to negotiate with the Arab states to let them see the wisdom to attend a joint conference of the heads of the states of all the Muslim countries in the world. I believe that the circumstances obtaining now will induce them whether willingly or unwillingly to accept this proposal, but if any country declines to participate, keeping the doors open to her, the Conference must in any case be convened at the earliest possible opportunity.

The Proposals

The proposed Conference should, among other things, devote special attention to the following matters:

1. To give birth to ideological controversies in the Muslim society and to incite conflict and strike on matters of creed and belief and to instigate and fan the differences to an extent as to make the votaries of a particular viewpoint use force to crush and wipe out those who happen to differ with the is something fraught with the greatest of danger. This is a heinous tactic and should not be attempted even when the times are otherwise normal and peaceful, muchless at the very hour when the enemy is knocking at the doors. None but the enemy can be benefitted from it. This situation must once for all cease in all the Muslim lands. All the Muslim countries if they wish to survive must put a stop to their internecive conflict and suicidal strife. And it should be adopted as something fundamental and as a matter of basic principle that no party who may come to power shall attempt to foist its own views and ideas on others nor place any impediments in the way of the expression of their viewpoint their perfectly democratic and constitutional activities.

2. To indulge in vicious propaganda and venomous tirade by one Muslim country against another or attempts at subversion and inciting revolt by one power inside the territory of other Muslim states, or political or military intervention into the affairs of others should be totally prohibited. Common sense and experience say that our enemies draw benefit out of it.

3. It should be earnestly understood that the sheet-anchor of the strength of the Muslims is Islam and the spirit of **Jihad** for it. No Nationalism or Socialism or Secularism can generate vitality of life among the Muslims or surcharge the Muslim masses with the vigour and enthusiasm of Jihad. To import these isms and ideas and inject them in the social organism of the Muslims, through the coercive power of the state, can only result in giving birth to a host of newer religious differences and multiply those already existing. And that would further dissipate people's energies and undermine their strength through internecine strife and struggle of the Muslim states and then suffer the consequence of a defeat in the event of war. One fatal consequence in succumbing to these vicious ideologies is that they arrest the Muslims in joining hands on the basis of Islamic brotherhood and dis-

integrate them to let various groups to join anyone of the hostile international power blocs, separately, as conducive to its own national interests or ideologies leanings while none of these blocs could ever come to their aid, as also demonstrated during the recent war. It is therefore imperative that all Muslim countries unite on the basis of Islam and Islamic brotherhood.

4. The Muslim states should establish their own International Court of Justice so that their mutual differences and conflicts may be immediately heard and decided. All of them should enter with a pact that they will honour and implement the decisions of that Court.

5. The Muslim states should establish their International Monetary Fund which should consolidate their financial resources and thus endeavour to be free from monetary aid of the foreign powers, Western or Eastern.

6. They should also draw up a programme for their mutual economic cooperation so that their vast resources could be put to use for their collective benefit, and their trade and industry may develop and their economic position may be strengthened.

7. These States should also set up, at the earliest, their own international news-agency which will in particular work as a link between all Muslim countries and provide vital information for the benefit of all. The present situation in this regard is most deplorable as our only source of information about the Muslim countries are the foreign news agencies which are not only politically motivated but also because of religious reasons furnish tarnished and most often baseless and absolutely false news and information and do not allow the true state of affairs to be known to the outside world. Dominated by the Jews most of these news agencies indulge in open Zionist propaganda.

8. The Muslim States should take immediate effective measure to attain self-sufficiency in arms and armaments and achieve freedom in bowing before others for this purpose. However, if arms can be had from any part of the world without any strings attached, we must avail of the opportunity but we must not have our entire dependence on others so that we are made to accept what they wish to dole out to us, on terms or conditions, open or secret, forcibly thrust upon us by way of bargain for their own ulterior hidden objectives. So long the present situation

shall persist no Muslim country shall ever be able to guard for itself the territorial integrity and freedom.

9. The statesmen and military leaders should give their utmost attention for the formulation of a comprehensive defence plan and none of the powers should be at liberty to decide to act in a way that it may deem fit on any occasion and make, more or less, all others the helpless victims of the adverse consequence that might befall.

These are some of the matters that require immediate consideration and for which a meeting of the heads of all the Muslim States is the crying need of hour. And as quite known that not only we but the Muslim statesmen and intellectuals of other countries too hold the view that today among all the Muslim countries if anyone can take the initiative in this matter it is Pakistan. By the Grace of God, all the Arab States regard Pakistan as their staunch well wisher and sympathiser, and among the non-Arab countries too she is the most near and dear to them.

I pray to God Almighty that He may guide the Muslims, lead them on the right path and not forsake them helpless and alone in this grave hour when there are enemies all around.

(Translated from Urdu by Misbahul Islam Faruqi)

تاریخ مشرق وسطی